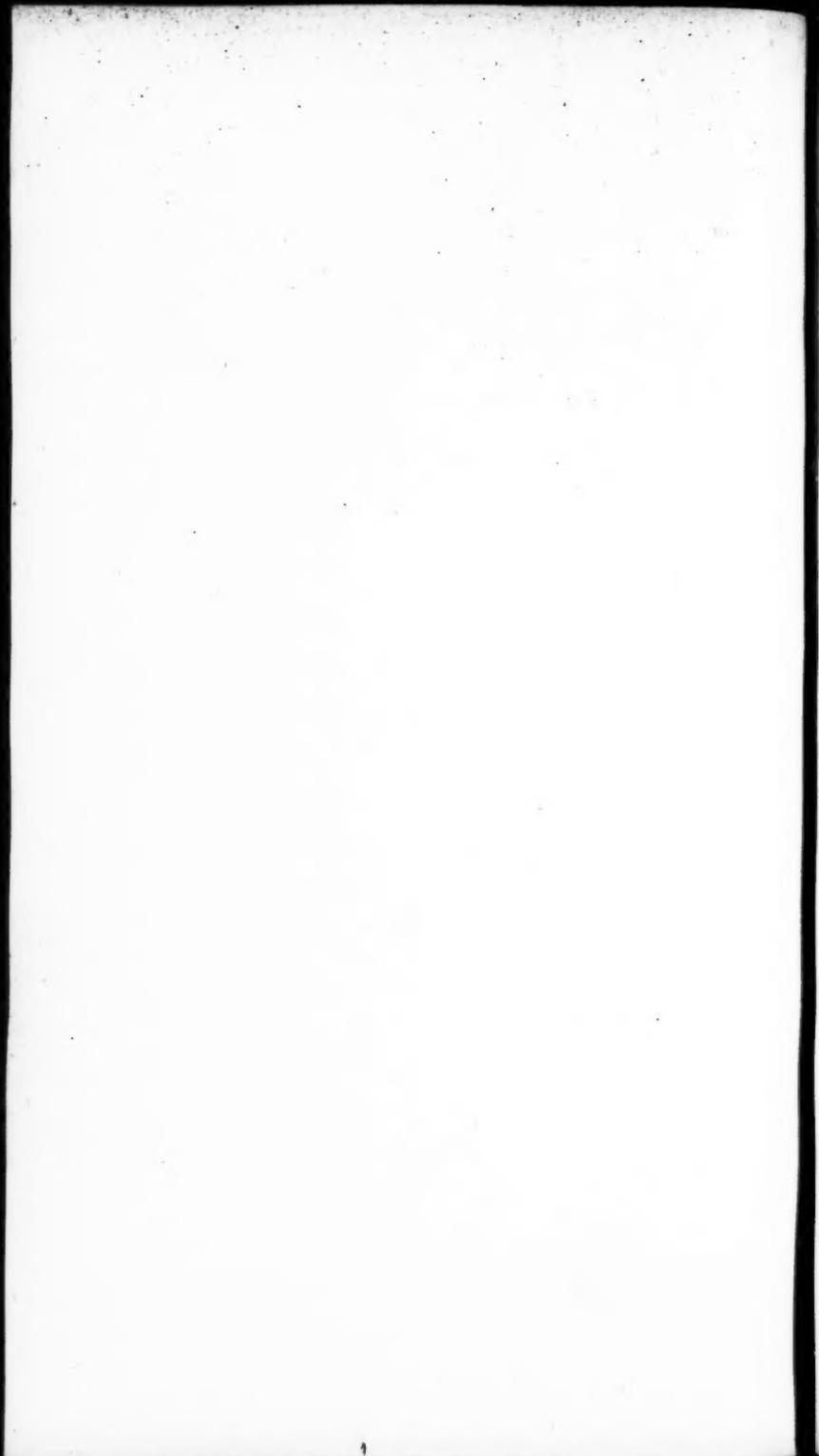


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ART. II.—DR. SMITH ON THE PENTATEUCH.

The Book of Moses; or, The Pentateuch in its Authorship, Credibility, and Civilization. By the Rev. W. SMITH, Ph.D. Volume I. London : Longmans, Green, & Co. 1868.

IT is now little more than sixty years since the question “Who wrote the Pentateuch?” was asked with all seriousness in Protestant Germany. Not, indeed, that the question in itself was altogether new. Carlstadt, the Reformer, had already expressed strong doubts concerning the Mosaic authorship. LeClerc once denied it, but lived to retract his opinion and to solve his own difficulties. The bold criticisms of Père Simon in the same direction are well known. Even mediaeval Rabbis had not always been contented with the traditions of their schools, and some had been curiously sceptical in this matter. Still farther back, in the earliest age of Christianity, we find another class of theorists. The old opinions concerning Moses were not easily reconciled with Gnostic speculations ; so we have the heretic Ptolemy making the discovery that the Law proceeded from various hands, one part from the Demiurge himself, another from the uninspired and fallible reason of Moses, with later additions or corruptions from a third source. A not unsimilar position is taken up by the author of the Clementines, who would account for the origin of a theology he disliked by resorting to the hypothesis of an oral tradition, which easily assimilates error, as the basis of the Mosaic books.

But at the close of the eighteenth century the question was asked with fresh interest, and claimed to occupy more important ground. The earlier solutions were allowed to be dogmatic, the consequences of *à priori* assumptions, and not sufficiently supported by scientific proof. The more recent were with equal justice considered as little more than guesses, proceeding from mere individual caprice, and leading to negative rather than positive results. The dawn of the nine-

teenth century, we are now told, beheld the foundation of the "higher criticism." Before the bar of this tribunal the Pentateuch has been summoned, and the question has been finally set at rest. The progress of critical analysis and historic research have rendered it easy to dispose for ever of the old-fashioned doctrine of its authenticity, to give a very probable account of the date and authorship of its different parts, and to assign a true origin for all its sacred institutions and traditions.

These are high-sounding pretensions, and a great deal of their influence is due to the loudness and persistency with which they are proclaimed. They have made themselves heard in spheres far removed from their original source; and, as is often the case with such boldly assumed conclusions, have been more or less timidly accepted by many who are ignorant of the processes by which they have been really attained.

The Catholic who is ready to say of any book of the Canon what S. Augustine said of the Gospels: "Ego vero Evangelio non crederem nisi me commoveret Ecclesiae auctoritas," and who receives the sacred books and the doctrine of inspiration from the same authority which proposes to him the articles of the Creed or the seven Sacraments, may be satisfied with meeting such adversaries with a simple Credo to begin with, and for the rest may be content with a defensive attitude founded upon a certain counter-scepticism. He may say, "See to what extravagancies your critical methods lead. It is to us a further proof that science, unaided by ecclesiastical tradition or authority, is incompetent to deal satisfactorily with such matters. Philology, archaeology, are yet in their infancy. Learned critics differ from one another, and their boasted unanimity is a delusion. Why appeal to such a feeble instrument as criticism to solve problems where a higher judge has cut the knot?" Thus he looks upon these investigations without surprise or without fear, for his faith is independent of them. If an historic difficulty appears insoluble, let it remain so until our ignorance is enlightened; if a solution is attempted incompatible with Catholic dogma, we reject it with absolute certainty. Some such position as this will naturally be adopted at first sight by the faithful. Indeed, there may be cases in which no other is possible. The external evidences in proof of single revealed facts or dogmas must considerably vary according to times and circumstances. Contemporary documentary evidence of the strongest kind may have existed in the time of S. Jerome or S. Augustine which is not accessible to us now. Books are inserted in the Canon to which we cannot assign a fixed date or authorship

with any approach to certainty. The Church of the later centuries may be even our only authority for their canonicity; the earlier ages may seem to give but a hesitating judgment, and the thread of tradition itself be no longer traceable in the shadow of antiquity. In such cases we must fall back upon our first principles, and argue entirely on the defensive. We can defiantly exclaim, "Show that our doctrine is absolutely untenable, or our practice indefensible on any hypothesis consistent with our own principles. Our faith is in possession. What merely natural data, whether scientific or historic, can afford a lever strong enough to move us from such a position?"

With such a general reply a Catholic might fairly be content; but it does not follow, because superabundant proofs are not needed, that therefore they do not exist; and moreover, where such proofs do exist, there is obvious danger in overlooking them and too hastily conceding in any particular instance that the *primâ facie* historic appearances are opposed to us, when a closer investigation and a truer criticism would show them to be convincingly in our favour. It is our object, then, in the present article to indicate some of the main features of the recent controversy regarding the authorship of the Pentateuch as a critical question only. A few words on the antecedents and growth of that school which exclusively arrogates to itself the title of the higher criticism, and which is an essential element in the inquiry, will enable us to form a fair judgment as to the real point at issue.

If, then, we look to the history of the controversy, we shall find that the reason why the question, "Who wrote the Pentateuch?" has come of late to be agitated with such earnestness, is, that it is now asked by men who are far from being indifferent to the issue, and who, having abandoned the only rational answer, are thus forced by the exigencies of a preconceived theory to look about for another more in accordance with their new theology. As philosophers or theologians, the rationalists of the present day might be content simply to assume their conclusions as well as their premisses; but these theologians profess also to be critics and historians, and what was easy with the ancient Gnostics is no longer possible for them. Such a purely negative position would be fatal to their pretensions. If Moses could not have written a supernatural story, of which he himself was supposed to be the hero, who then did write it?—when?—and for what purpose? They have thus been driven to seek something like definite answers to such questions primarily in self-defence. Hence the multitude of conflicting theories and contradictory statements, out of which their apologists have

vainly attempted to extract sufficient common standing-ground to boast of as a final result.

For the germs of such speculative criticism as this we must go back to the days of Martin Luther. It is true that the Reformers were not rationalists in the present acceptation of the word; they were little enough inclined to give *reason* a hearing in the discussion of matters of faith. It is also true that it was a first principle of Protestantism to make the written word of God the sole rule and judge of doctrine. Nor did they ever attempt to place a human authority above this word of God. But who, indeed, would attempt it? The question to be decided then, as now, was—What is this written word? Where is it to be found? If reason was not to determine this, what was? On the other hand, if the voice of the Church or ecclesiastical tradition was not a competent judge, upon what foundation is the authority of Scripture to rest? It was this difficulty, and an insuperable one, with which the Reformers were met, which made Protestantism to totter even in Luther's lifetime, and which, though in subsequent times inconsistently ignored, has again in this last century forced itself into prominence from a slightly altered point of view, and now seriously threatens to bring the whole edifice to the ground. It has been imagined that this difficulty was a logical and theoretical one only, and that however faulty their principles, a fortunate accident or a common instinct of danger intervened to procure practical uniformity as to the limits of the Canon and a decent respect for its authority. Indeed, it is a matter of astonishment that the Bible was left little disturbed as it was. But the practical confusion was nevertheless great. "Nothing," says Professor Reuss, of Strasburg, "is more interesting and nothing less known in France [and we may safely add England] than the embarrassments, hesitations, and inconsistencies of the old Protestant theology on the question of the Canon" ("Hist. du Canon," p. 325); and Mr. Westcott, in speaking of the same subject, candidly confesses that "the book itself was in danger of falling in pieces under the free treatment of Luther." ("Bible in the Church," p. 248.) To quarrel with such a book as Ecclesiasticus, to heap epithets of disgust upon Judith or Tobias, was a comparatively safe proceeding; the line of demarcation between the books of the first and second Canon of the Old Testament was on the whole broadly defined, and to attack the latter was only to attack the Vulgate. But even the extant Hebrew Scriptures did not always escape the sneers of Luther, who laughed at Ecclesiastes, and declared himself as much an enemy of Esther as he was of Machabees.

To tamper with the New Testament was still more fatal, yet if the evidence of inspiration was to be sought for in the testimony of the individual conscience, or in what was called the "inner witness of the spirit," how was it likely that the doctrine of S. James would meet with the full approval of the conscience of a Calvinist? In fact, it has been acknowledged that private feeling was with them the supreme authority as to doctrine and the source of doctrine. What this meant with Luther we learn from his estimate of the Apocalypse. He had formed his own idea of what was due to the apostolic dignity and office. It belonged to that office to speak clearly, without image or vision. Even in the Old Testament, said Luther, no prophet was occupied with visions throughout. Moreover, the author seemed to speak too arrogantly of the importance of his own work. If it be blessed to believe what is contained in it, no man knows what that is. "Let every man think of it as his spirit suggests. My spirit cannot adapt itself to the production, and this is reason enough for me that I should not highly esteem it, for Christ is neither thought nor perceived in it, which is the great business of an apostle."^{*} In fact, there was laxity of opinion, there were fluctuations in usage, everywhere; the laxity being rather encouraged than otherwise by the public Confessions. Those of Germany and Switzerland, omitting to specify what writings they intended when they spoke of the Word of God, left the choice virtually open to individual reason or caprice; and others, adopting the traditional Canon, and yet claiming to take it not from tradition or Church authority, but from the "intrinsic persuasion of the spirit," equally paved the way for the further exercise of Protestant free judgment in rationalism.[†] For the transition was easy from the "inner witness" of Calvin to the "moral sense" of Kant, the individual feeling of Schleiermacher, or the philosophical reason of Strauss. The change was little more than one of name. In each case the test was a purely subjective one. The Reformer's inner witness told him that the epistle of James did not breathe the spirit of Christ. The Bible was not, as he imagined, the rule of his faith, it was rather his preconceived "faith" which was the rule by which he judged the Bible. In a more prosaic age and with a more Pelagian theology, for inner witness was substituted the "moral sense," and Kant supplied the keynote to the critical system of Semler and the early rationalists.

* See Davidson's "Introd. to the N. T." vol. ii. p. 346.

† Mackay, "Tübingen School, &c.," p. 82.

We need not trace the downward progress of Protestantism through all its various phases, or follow the course of the many minor rivulets which added force to the current. At times the main stream was impeded in its flow by the stagnation caused by wearisome controversies with Catholics, or by internal dissensions amongst numberless petty sects, where there was no scope for original thought, and a scarcity enough of scientific research. For awhile, indeed, there seemed to arise a reactionary spirit, proceeding in the beginning of the eighteenth century from an energetic revival of Biblical learning. The failure and abandonment of the theory of the "spirit whispering to the soul" as the final judge of controversies concerning inspiration and the interpretation of Scripture led to a study of historic evidence and an appeal to philology as the safest hermeneutical guide. Theologians became grammarians. The idea of canonicity was merged in that of genuineness. All the life and spirit of the sacred writings were lost in the insipid criticism of the letter. But this cultivation of Biblical science, such as it was, could never build up a system of Christian doctrine. Where links in the historic evidence of a book were wanting, what testimony was to supply their place? What value could be attached to the decisions of Councils, or mere ecclesiastical usage? Then, again, it was not to be expected that much light would be thrown on the phraseology of S. Paul and the newly-created Christian terms of the New Testament by a reference to the language of Thucydides. Such tendencies only helped to make scepticism the fashion of the day, and to hurry on the systematic rationalism which was ready to carry out the older Protestantism in its true spirit. The parent of modern rationalism and a true child of Luther, Dr. Semler of Halle, now dedicated a long life and considerable learning to laying the foundations of that mixture of subjective dogmatism and historic scepticism which has finally terminated in the wild theories of the Tübingen school. The true proof of the divinity of a book he maintained to be the interior conviction of the truth it contains, and he was right in adding that this is properly the divine faith which in the old-fashioned Biblical language was called "the testimony of the spirit" in the soul of the reader. But such books are to be considered inspired as far only as they tend to the amelioration of man. The moral essence of Scripture must be separated from Scripture in the gross—the wheat from the chaff. The miracles of the Gospels are useless and cannot edify, and many of the dogmatic ideas there taught must be understood as mere "accommodations" to the opinions of the Jews. With such a

system as this it was easy work to throw to the wind whole books, both of the Old and New Testament, and to reduce the rest to a history without unity, life or significance—a barren collection of unmeaning facts—and to a theology which, whilst retaining the name of a divine revelation, consisted only of a series of ethical sentences. A deep-rooted suspicion or a dislike of all that bore a supernatural character was the prevailing instinct of this school. Its disciples, however, clung tenaciously to the bare historic skeleton, when stripped of all that was spiritual.

The application of these principles to the New Testament culminated in the puerile absurdities of the now almost forgotten commentary of Dr. Paulus. The vision of Zachary, according to this exegesis, which was the fashion some sixty years ago, must be attributed to an excited state of mind; his blindness was the result of a fit; the apparition of the angel, perhaps a flash of lightning. The celestial glory revealed to the shepherds was nothing more than a lantern, or, may be, such phosphorescent nocturnal phenomena as are not uncommon in pastoral countries. The casting out of devils was the influence of a wise man exercised over the insane by the use of kind words; a miraculous cure, the result of a natural remedy; the Transfiguration, a confused recollection or half-dream of waking men who saw their Lord standing in a beautiful mountain-light, talking to two men unknown. In fine, the resurrection itself took place only in appearance; Jesus did not die, but swooned away upon the cross, and the cool atmosphere of the grotto tomb and the refreshing ointments restored him once more to health and strength!

Never was there in the sphere of such controversies a greater triumph—if triumph be a fit word to use—than the victory gained over such critics as Paulus and his fellows by that man whose impious work on the life of Jesus thirty years ago insulted and scandalized the Christian world. It was not, indeed, a difficult task for Strauss, the Hegelian philosopher and critic, to demonstrate that the supernatural and the natural are so inextricably interwoven in the evangelical narrative that if the miracles are to go, the historic truth must follow. The work of Strauss inaugurated a new era; and its true importance is to be sought, not so much in its attack upon the old Christian belief, as in its total overthrow of the earlier rationalistic system. The very idea of the supernatural being opposed to sound reason, and a miracle an absolute impossibility, the Gospels could not claim to be historic in any sense. For the attempt to explain away the miracles by

exegetical sleight-of-hand would be only to substitute a series of wonders more extraordinary than the old orthodox miracles themselves.

Destructive criticism seems now to have done its worst. Yet Strauss affected to imagine that he was not destroying but rather restoring the Protestant faith. He assures the pious believer that he intends to give him back all that he might fear was lost to him. The Gospel is a beautiful poem—an ideal; we destroy it if we believe it to contain historical truth. It is the idea contained in it which saves us. "Luther," he said, "has already set *bodily* wonders below the spiritual, which are the true high miracles, and shall we by any possibility be more highly interested by a few healings of the sick in Galilee than for the wonders of the life of mind and the history of the world, for the incredibly increasing dominion of man over nature? . . . God is ever incarnate in humanity. Humanity is the miracle-worker—the sinless one—that which dies and rises again, and ascends towards heaven. Through faith in *this* Christ, and especially in His death and resurrection, is man justified before God."* In short, it became now the fashion to make the Gospel stories a collection of myths, growing up silently and unconsciously in the Christian mind. Christ, it is allowed, was *believed* to be the Messias; the Messias was *expected* to lead a wondrous life, full of mysteries; and therefore gradually there sprang up the impression that these wonders had taken place. Late in the second century collections of such imaginary stories, each embodying some idea of early Christian teaching, were put in writing, and moulded into shape according to the varied tendencies or theological turn of mind of the author, and finally, no one knows how, perhaps with a view to give them greater authority, attributed to the companions or disciples of Jesus Himself. Under the manipulation of such a speculative criticism, the Gospel of S. John was the last to fall. So-called criticism had long maintained with Luther that the Apocalypse was unworthy of an apostle, and if not a forgery, at least not the work of the Evangelist; on the other hand, the most hardy rationalists, who had been wont to abandon the Old Testament, and to give up half of the synoptical narrative, yet held fast to the genuineness of the fourth gospel, as the last remaining link which would bind them to Christianity. With the Tübingen school this critical judgment, infallible though it was once pronounced to be, is strangely reversed. The Apocalypse, we are now to believe, is genuine and apostolic—

* Strauss, ap. Mill, "Pantheistic Theory of the Gospel," pp. 48-51.

nearly the only genuine fragment we possess ; the Gospel, a fiction of a later age, revealing a catholic doctrine which was unknown to the Apostles.

Such is the issue of subjective philosophy applied to history—such are the infallible and irreversible judgments of the higher criticism.

It would be well, however, to carefully note a remarkable feature in the progress of this so-called criticism. It will be observed that in regard to the genuineness and historic truth of sacred documents, the process, though gradual, has from the commencement been purely negative and destructive. Luther sneered, even where he did not dare deny. Rationalists first denied the authenticity of books, and next, as a necessary consequence of their *à priori* views, denied the credibility of the miraculous narratives, whilst they still adhered to a bare outline or historic groundwork as trustworthy. The mythical school denied, with but slight exceptions, books, miracles, history, and all, and left nothing but an idea. On the other hand, with regard to exegesis, the progress, so far from being negative, has been on the whole reactionary and Catholic. Whilst the truth of the history or the authority of the writings was allowed, it was impossible to admit a sound exegesis and at the same time to escape from the bondage of dogma. As long as S. John was considered the author of the fourth Gospel, it was almost a necessity with rationalism to explain away the miracle of Cana as a marriage joke, to water down the theological terminology into unmeaning generalities, and to save the credit of the Apostle by an apologetic reference to his old age, a weakened memory, new scenes, or to resort to similar follies dignified with the name of science. But now that the actual groundwork of fact is abandoned, there is room again for the old theology. It is readily conceded that the author meant to relate true miracles, that he taught the Catholic doctrines, and that his teaching can only properly be understood by applying the rules of mystical interpretation, long ago laid upon the shelf with the despised volumes of Origen and S. Augustine. Baur, now unfettered, will tell us that we must find the doctrine of the Divine Word correctly laid down in the last of the Gospels ; or he will point out the symbolic teaching of the feast of Cana—the nuptials being a figure of the kingdom of God, the Messias, the Spouse, filling his friends with joy—and will find in the wine an allusion to the consecration of the last supper. The water flowing from the side of the dead Jesus, inexplicable to ordinary experience or to medical science, can now freely be interpreted by Schenkel in a true dogmatic sense. The two

great means of grace—the Blood of Jesus crucified, and the baptismal water—are here represented, and we are reminded that “he who eats the flesh of the Son of Man and drinks His blood has life eternal, and he who drinks of this water which the Son of Man will give shall never thirst.” So also now that the life of Christ is a phantom, a product of the aspirations and ideas of a devout people, it becomes not only possible but necessary to return to the old views of prophecy. It was necessary to believe that the Jews expected a Messias, and even that the portraiture of their ideal in the Gospel corresponded in its main features with that expectation. And how, again, to account for these deep-rooted Messianic ideas and their creative influence, except by tracing their development in the minds of the Prophets of old! When an historic Christ, however divested of the supernatural, was still believed in, prophecy was necessarily denied, and the never-failing exegesis was called in to obliterate all traces of Christology in the Old Testament. But now when the fulfilment was made to be ideal, our critics could afford to make prophecy real. Thus we have restored to us, speaking of course roughly, the grand outlines of Christian theology; interpretations discarded by Protestants for 300 years are now reinstated in their proper place. The rationalists endeavoured to preserve the letter and to destroy the spirit, to adhere to the history, but to throw aside its idea. Their successors, the mythists, teach us to find the spirit but to discard the letter, to discover Church mysteries and ideas but to drop the outward shell which contains them.

But why is it impossible for us to maintain the credibility of the historic basis with the rationalist, and the beauty of the idea with the mythist? The problem of the day is simply this, and no other. Protestantism will insist on being free and unshackled by dogmatic authority. Philosophers will not believe in miracles. Herein is the true obstacle to the Catholic tradition. The difficulty is not one of science or criticism at all. I may believe, might a rationalist say, in the genuineness, if I can find a loophole to escape from a belief in the supernatural records. I may believe in all the demands of Catholic exegesis, if it be but granted that the ideas are unhistoric. Catholicism simply unites the two ends of the thread which scepticism has severed. The bond of union is the belief in the possibility of a divine Providence, able to so dispose the events of the present as to make them typically foreshadow the future, and perform wonders in nature which should, as in an allegory, represent to us the mysteries of grace. In other words, grant the possibility of miracle, type, and prophecy,

and the rest is virtually conceded. The denial of the actual truth of an historic revelation is no more based upon or supported by true criticism than was Luther's contempt of the Apocalypse, or the comments of Paulus on the Gospels.

Meanwhile, however, the arbitrary subjective criticism which was dissolving the original facts of Christianity into dreams had not been idle with the older documents of revelation. We have purposely exhibited the course of rationalism, thus far, on the more familiar historic field of the New Testament, although the attacks upon the Pentateuch were naturally prior in time to the mythical castle-building of the Tübingen school. The processes were, however, identical. The Mosaic books, and especially the Book of Genesis, were full of marvels distasteful to the enlightenment of the age; but the rationalists of the older and coarser type proceeded slowly and cautiously in their attempts to weed them from the surface. For what were they to do? A Hebrew *mythology* had not yet been invented. Historic evidence was still respected, and the Mosaic authorship had defied many rude attempts to overthrow it, and now stood more firmly established than ever. The venerable antiquity of the Pentateuch and its influence upon Hebrew life and history, its grand simplicity and spirituality, were still felt and acknowledged. The attempt to weed out the supernatural from its pages, and yet let the genuineness remain undisturbed, would, indeed, seem to be a hopeless task. But "science," in the hands of its votaries, is a magical wand, which can be made to perform many unexpected tricks; and the favourite "exegesis" was invoked to strip the history of its apparent legendary dress, or, in Semler's language, to separate the wheat from the chaff. Eichhorn, superior, perhaps in learning, and certainly in literary taste, to most of his contemporaries, led the way. With the critics of his school, the narrative of the Fall and the Expulsion from Paradise was a confused reminiscence of some primeval natural disaster, or the forbidden fruit was poisonous, and the Divine voice was a clap of thunder. Moses may have repeated such traditions in the sense in which he understood them, but it was more difficult to account for the wonders of the Exodus, of which he himself must have been an eye-witness. Yet, strange to say, the most obvious miracles were tortured into mere commonplace descriptions of natural phenomena. Sometimes nothing supernatural was intended, sometimes it was a poetical exaggeration, or a pious fraud, or, at worst, some clumsy, but possibly well-intentioned interpolation of a later hand. The flame on Sinai was no more than a bonfire, kindled on the mount for theatrical effect. The fiery column was nothing

but a torch preceding the caravan ; the shining of Moses' countenance the natural result of electricity, or possibly the effect of excitement and strong feeling. The wisdom of the great lawgiver may be even detected in the artifice by which he contrived to heal the suffering Israelites from the venomous bites of the serpents ; for did he not erect afar off the brazen serpent, to which all were to run with haste, that the violent perspiration thereby caused might have the desired medicinal effect !

Such an exegetical imposture as this could not long hold its ground, and it soon fell before the mythical theory first brought into notice and applied to the Pentateuch by De Wette. Eichhorn himself at times seemed to despair of his success in forcing Moses to narrate the miraculous story of the plagues of Egypt ; yet he adhered substantially to the genuineness even of the middle books, and valiantly defended Deuteronomy as undoubtedly an eloquent and pathetic discourse of the lawgiver in his old age — his last farewell address to his people. But the mythology of the new school, which was to supplant this quasi-historic treatment of the older system, must have some basis, however unsubstantial, to rest upon. If all the facts, the person of Moses himself to some extent included, were to be reduced to a series of myths, we again have in their place but another kind of phenomena to explain. Psychological difficulties arise if we get rid of the historic. In the case of the Old Testament this was even more so than in the case of the New. Gospel myths were to rest upon actual historic ideas, at least they were the supposed products of Messianic hopes ; they fed upon the old Hebrew stories, which were reproduced in a new form. No original matter was needed for their full expression in the evangelical literature, since the exemplars were ready at hand in the miracles and wonders of the patriarchs and prophets of the old dispensation. But how account for the vast myth of patriarchs and Moses, the desert and the tabernacle, the pasch and the giving of the law ? How, again, were critics to explain the gradual formation of this wide and varied literature, where dreamers and idealists follow one another in so orderly a manner, and weave a web with so remarkable a semblance of unity of design, and such a fascinating imitation of truth ?

Nevertheless the absence of tangible ground upon which to build an hypothesis presented the advantage of leaving greater elbow-room for theorists. They could create their facts as well as their myths : they could create too their own narrators. It is not an exaggeration to say that they forthwith set to work, certainly with no very great unanimity, to

solve the critical problem they had cut out for themselves, to select at their pleasure a supposed groundwork of truth, to imagine a series of narrators, to endow them with their several mental qualities, theological opinions, and "tendencies," their political aspirations and literary style, to assign to each his date and social position, and pick out for him a fragment of the extant books as his own peculiar work; and having accomplished this to their satisfaction, the disciples of the higher criticism will with the greatest naïveté turn round to us and ask if their theory does not reasonably explain the origin and growth of the religion of Israel.

The method of discovering a point of departure is something of this kind. A first axiom is laid down that all prophecies are "vaticinia post eventum." We have only therefore, in a literature so abounding with type and prophecy, to read the history backward. Discover the period corresponding to the picture of the destinies of the Tribes put into the mouth of the dying Jacob, and we then have the time and the scenes before us in which the narrator composed the beautiful poem in which he expressed his ideas. If we have a description of a too magnificent Tabernacle, and a too complete and developed Ritual in the Wilderness, of which the still more glorious Temple purported to be the copy; reverse the facts, and suppose the writer to have drawn his picture of the imaginary Tent of the Desert from the pattern of the actual Temple before his eyes. If we have a tribe said to have been set apart by God to provide special ministers for the due celebration of the sacred rites of divine worship, say that this was an institution which sprang up in the days of the early kings; that the Levites had for some unknown cause forfeited their right to territorial possession, or perhaps were no tribe at all; that accident, convenience, and their idleness led either to their selection by others or to their own ambitious claim of priestly authority. If the law forbids human sacrifices, maintain that Jephtha's vow shows them to belong to the very essence of early Israelite worship; that the prophet Amos insinuates that the Hebrews in the desert worshipped Saturn and Moloch, and knew nothing of Jehovah; and that the story of Abraham's sparing Isaac was invented at a later time to win the people by so good an example from the prevalent rage for manslaughter.

Thus the motives for such ideal history are as readily invented as the facts. At one time perhaps it was an honest attempt on the part of an Israelite to account for the origin of their race. The Pasch existed, for instance, as a national celebration of great antiquity—originally a spring or harvest

feast. The story of its institution at the Exodus was a pleasing myth and one very naturally likely to arise. The narrator told the legend as it was current in his day. At another time the object may be the mere venting of a national spite; hence the stories of the curse of Canaan, or of the origin of Moab; or again a Levite may desire to attribute antiquity to a custom which gives him support and honour, and thus is led by a pious fraud to antedate sacerdotal ideas and write the history of the past in the light of his own wishes.

Meanwhile further materials for this fanciful reconstruction of Jewish history were found ready at hand by De Wette and his many followers in the so-called Document theory which had recently come into vogue. This theory, like most of the vaunted results of criticism, was the embodiment of a favourite fancy of the day which exercised a tyrannical influence over every department of literature: it was Wolff's view of the origin of the Homeric poems applied to the Bible. It was not unsimilar again in many respects to the hypothesis, prevalent at the beginning of this century, on the source of the synoptical Gospels, with its assumption of the Ur-Evangelium or Aramaic original, and the numerous imaginary Greek translations and recensions, and abridgments, and additions, which were supposed finally to result in our present Evangelical writings. It was the same hacking and disintegrating process which led ingenious critics to discover no less than nine different authors of different dates at work on the Book of Daniel. Curiously enough, the author of the dissecting theory as applied to the books of Moses, was a clever French physician, who, so far back as the year 1751, cast upon the literary world, whether in earnest or in sport, a little volume entitled "Conjectures sur les Mémoires originaux dont il paraît que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse." These conjectures soon found their way into Germany, where they took root in a congenial soil, and where Eichhorn instilled into them fresh life. Under the pen of M. Astruc, the book of Genesis—for it is to this book alone that the author presumed to apply his notion—was cut up into a dozen separate fragments, which were to be distinguished chiefly by the different names of God, Elohim or Jehovah, occurring in the narrative. He suggested that Moses had originally placed these fragments side by side in parallel columns, and that in the lapse of time copyists had contrived to involve the compilation in inextricable confusion by unskilfully arranging them consecutively as parts of a continuous history. Hence the appearance—so argued Astruc—of unnecessary repetitions, abrupt transitions, and chronological discrepancies. It is

needless to say that while no single author has adopted the theory of the Frenchman as it stands, it was too useful an auxiliary to the new criticism to be totally abandoned. Eichhorn made but two documents instead of twelve, but still applied the theory to Genesis alone; Vater improved upon his predecessors, and his critical eye detected a tissue of similar fragments running through all the first four books of the Pentateuch, not as two distinct works capable of being linked together and reconstructed, but as scattered pieces belonging to different times and from widely different sources. Even Deuteronomy was not exempted from this dissection and was also decomposed into various parts. The Document theory had now become the Fragment theory, and this in turn had to give way to the Complement theory, by which the formal unity of the Pentateuch is admitted, but attributed to the careful editorial arrangement and revision of a so-called Ergänzer, who is himself the author of much supplementary matter. The convenience of this imaginary Ergänzer is sufficiently obvious. Wherever an awkward phrase occurs, which on à priori grounds is judged to be out of harmony with the period or style of the supposed original writers, forthwith it is to be attributed to the finishing touch of this later Compiler. But whether there be one or two Elohists, one or two Jehovahs, whether the Deuteronomist is to be identified with either Jehovah or both, is still a grave matter of dispute. It is not by any means settled which passages are to be apportioned respectively to each. It is totally a matter of uncertainty at what age these authors lived and wrote. Yet so keen is the scent of the philologists in their search after variations in language and style, so profound their appreciation of differences in the tone of thought, that even the more moderate have partitioned out the Book of Genesis into some 370 alternations of authorship, picked out by an accurate analysis from the interlaced and interwoven passages so laboriously put together by the compiler of this tesselated work! * Meanwhile Ewald, by far the best scholar, the most learned orientalist, and most gifted with a poetic if not spiritual sense, has cut out a path for himself, on which not even his most ardent admirers have ventured to follow, although no one is more confident than he of his critical tact, or more dogmatic in his power of assertion. Ewald undertakes to bring before us the author of the Great Book of Origins. He indicates his primeval sources of information, shows us portions still extant of the older documents which he incorporated, defines the limits of

* See Quarry, "Genesis and its Authorship," p. 626.

the Book of Covenants, the book of the Wars of Jahveh, the biography of Moses ; nay, lays his finger on fragments which are actually pre-Mosaic. The date of each book, the character and aims of the author, are familiar to him. We have one writer with a legal turn of mind ; others with prophetic tendencies follow, in part composing original matter, in part retouching the old. The third, fourth, and fifth narrators have each their proper allotment assigned to them ; then comes the Deuteronomist at the age of Manasses, and finally the last editor.

The name of the author of the Book of Origins he modestly suggests “will probably be veiled from us in eternal obscurity ;” but it is instructive to watch the fascinating hold which a creation of the imagination has upon a man’s own mind, and its power in reacting upon and intensifying the idea from which it sprang. The faculty of believing in, and throwing out from oneself into an objective reality such purely ideal personages or things, which forms part of the great attraction of these arbitrary hypotheses, may be well exemplified in the strange apostrophe with which the most renowned of critics addresses a writer whom he has all but named :—“Lofty spirit !” cries Ewald, “thou whose work has for centuries not irrationally had the fortune of being taken for that of thy great hero Moses himself, I know not thy name, and divine only from thy vestiges when thou didst live and what thou didst achieve ; but if these thy traces incontrovertibly forbid me to identify thee with him who was greater than thou, and whom thou thyself only desiredst to magnify according to his deserts, then see that there is no guile in me, nor any pleasure in knowing thee not absolutely as thou wert !”*

Such is the rough outline of the course of unbelieving criticism. Common sense showed that Moses could not, consistently with the requirements of a rationalizing or pantheistic philosophy, be permitted to claim the authorship of the books which tradition has assigned to him. The conclusion, therefore, is a necessity of the system ; the theories, fragmentary and complementary, are as so much dust cast in our eyes. They give a show of critical reasoning, and their supporters make up for their real deficiency of proof by loudness of assertion and intensity of purpose. The critical analysis seems now, however, to have run its course. The eyes of the critics are turned anxiously towards the issue of another controversy ; and the origin of Christian dogma and the authorship especially of the fourth Gospel seems destined soon to become the

* “History of Israel,” vol. i. p. 96.

arena of a fresh conflict. The whole ground of the criticism of the Pentateuch is now open before us, and we can calmly survey our position in the presence of true science. What real results have been attained? Has the progress of philological and antiquarian studies been antagonistic even in appearance to the Christian tradition? Has any single new proof of weight been adduced against us throughout this long and earnest struggle?

We turn to this question with all the more interest, for there never was a time in which more depended upon the actual historic evidence which we can bring to bear in favour of Mosaic *authorship*. Let us once establish this, and the internal difficulties upon the score of veracity or credibility assume a very diminished importance. This has been felt by our opponents, and their tactics have been to lead us astray from the chief point at issue, to invest their own assumptions with an air of plausibility, so as to force us to change our front and to act upon the merely defensive. Moreover, the question of authorship is becoming one of greater consequence in proportion as the idealistic theology gains ground. For, as we observed in regard to the New Testament, idealism in the hands of many of its advocates is in some respects nearer to Catholic truth, or at least less offensive and alien to our minds, than the materialistic notions of the older rationalism. Ewald, with his denial of the genuineness and truth of the history, is nearer to Catholicism than such a tasteless commentator on Mosaic law as Michaelis, with his low rationalism and utilitarian morality. The Catholic and Idealist can often meet on common ground. The one thing wanting to the latter is a belief in the possibility of his poem being truth. At present he shuts his eyes blindly to the overwhelming accumulation of evidence which should compel him to see history where he persists in seeing oftentimes only a noble idea, full of poetic beauty and moral excellence, which he, indeed, is never weary of admiring as long as he need not believe it to be an actual fact. No one can read the pages of such an enthusiast as Ewald, or even parts of the recent commentary of Kalisch, without recognizing the truth of this at every step. Over and over again we come to such expressions as that with which, for instance, Ewald concludes his description of God's wrath at the disobedience of Aaron, and the breaking of the tables of the law—how He "at last, entirely reconciled, solemnly renews the broken covenant, restores the shattered tables of stone, and confirms afresh the holy laws. A glorious picture, perfect in its kind, and full of eternal truth, if only it be not treated as a dry historic fact!" ("Hist. of Israel," vol. i.

p. 608.) So we may take up a Catholic writer, and possibly at first sight be tempted to think him fanciful in tracing in the story of Abraham, as in a miniature portrait, the history and vicissitudes of the chosen people of whom he was the father. Yet we may turn to an unbelieving critic* who will take pleasure in drawing out the very same idea, calling attention to the minuteness and the accuracy of the resemblance down to the smallest details. Abraham is with him an ideal Israelite—a pattern also of the holiness of life to which a true Hebrew should strive to attain. His life is painted with noble colours, exhibiting unusual grandeur, symmetry, and beauty—and why not *truth*? Because, forsooth, it is a *vaticinium post eventum*. It existed only in the poetic ideas of the human artist who traced its lineaments from the past history of his people, which he loved to believe directed by a good Providence. But why again should not the artist be God's Providence itself—why not the idea divine? No: again it is answered in effect—How beautiful if only it be *not* true! But there are others who will, perhaps, be led rather to exclaim, when they have learned from such guides to imbibe the sacred spirit which so fills the inspired volume, How beautiful; would that it could be true! It is then that the historic critic should be ready to perform his task, and to show that, as a sounder exegesis has led to the discovery of the true ideal which is portrayed in every page of the Bible, so a sounder criticism, one based not on false subjective assumptions, but one that is true to history, to science, to human nature and the natural instincts of the soul, will lead him by another line converging on the same point, to recognize *truth* where first he had only seen *beauty*.

It is at this stage of the inquiry that we turn with considerable satisfaction to the volume of Dr. Smith, which is placed at the head of this article. We have already spoken of the author as one well qualified by his extensive acquaintance with the foreign literature of the question, and by his rare philological and antiquarian learning, to perform the task he has undertaken. We repeat that we know of no critical work on his thesis executed in so good a spirit, none more thoroughly scientific in its treatment, and none, as far as we can judge from the first volume which is before us, exhibiting so complete a mastery over the whole scope of the subject. There is an absence of that narrow and exclusively critical spirit which cannot appreciate the principles of any science but that of its own predilection. He writes with a union of modesty

* Kalisch, "Historical and Critical Commentary, Genesis," p. 366.

and confidence which only a true scholar can attain, with a consciousness alike of the sacred grandeur of his theme and of the strength and justice of his cause. His reasoning is drawn out with method and precision, the evidence being laid before the reader with a studied avoidance of exaggerated colouring or rhetorical artifice. Adverse arguments are put clearly and fairly, for the most part in the very words of his opponents, and the way in which he replies to them must be allowed by his most prejudiced antagonists to be straightforward and intelligible, as well as frequently remarkable for striking originality in idea. The close condensation of his matter, and the regular development of the reasoning render it difficult to give briefly a fair notion of the scope and power of the argument. Its strength lies in its compactness and the multiplicity of its well-arranged facts, which form a cumulative argument of overwhelming cogency. We must be content therefore, now, with merely indicating the general features of the evidence adduced. This evidence, however, is such that, to all who have hitherto accepted the Mosaic authorship on faith, it will appear positively surprising.

Dr. Smith's thesis is simply this—"that the good old common-sense belief in the Mosaic authorship is the only one consistent with the requirements of sound criticism"—that is, he claims for Moses the actual writing of the five books, whether with his own hand, or by means of a secretary, or in both ways, as occasion served * (p. 13).

And here, at the very opening of the volume, we meet with an instructive example of how little our adversaries can boast of the progress of archæological inquiries resulting in their favour. As late as but thirty years ago, it was still deemed possible for critics of an ultra-sceptical school to call in question the very existence of the art of writing in the Mosaic age. Here, again, it was the reckless application of the Wolffian theory of Homer to a very different race and literature. The adventurous Von Bohlen hoping thus to cut the ground from under our feet, laid before his readers what he was pleased to call the "latest results" which the study of Palæography yielded, and, with Vater and Hartmann to support him, boldly concluded that the art was unknown to Moses, and turned the allusions to writing in the Pentateuch against us as anachronisms or "unfortunate slips" of the

* Of course Dr. Smith does not here include the last portion of Deuteronomy, which contains the death of Moses, and was added afterwards as a suitable appendix; nor does he deny that Moses incorporated in Genesis pre-existing documents, of which traces may be still found.

author. Mr. Norton in America made the same assumption one of the grounds of his own attack, yet to an Egyptologist of the present day, acquainted with still "later results," such scepticism can only appear ridiculous.

Although the antiquity of writing is a fact now generally admitted by the learned, Dr. Smith's discussion of this point is full of interest, and it is one which well deserves the evident pains which he has bestowed upon it. Much of the matter collected concerning Egypt is entirely new, or only to be gathered from the rare and costly tomes of Lepsius's "Denkmäler." Rapidly passing over monumental hieroglyphics which were a thousand years old before Moses was born, and papyri of the "Book of the Dead," dating from times anterior to Abraham, which prove the mere antiquity of the art, he furnishes us (p. 19) with an illustration which is in itself a treatise in proof of its common usage. The process of writing is pictorially represented on a rock tomb of the Fourth Dynasty, accompanied with the constantly recurring hieroglyph for writing, the combination of reed-pen, water-vase, and palette. That great literary activity prevailed during the whole Nineteenth Dynasty is clear from the number of hieratic manuscripts of the period scattered through Europe. To this age, which was that of Moses, belongs the papyrus Anastasi No. 1, in which are given the names of nine writers then distinguished in theology, philosophy, history, and poetry. The names, too, of famous libraries and their librarians are extant, and we have instances of Pharaohs themselves turning authors, one of whom at a very early date indites a treatise on anatomy. But of more immediate interest to us is the stepping over the bridge which seems to separate the Egyptian characters from the Semitic sounds, and the proof that the language of Moses himself possessed an alphabet and literature of its own; and here we will let Dr. Smith speak for himself:—

If the Egyptian character may not seem to be well fitted to express the sounds of Hebrew, it must not be forgotten that Egypt was only one of the nations that brought with them from the plains of Shinar the remains of an antediluvian civilization. The Cushite Babylonians had already their cuneiform letters in the year 2200 B.C., and the Semitic-speaking nations, with whom the Hebrews are classed linguistically, had certainly characters of their own at a very early period. The hieratic papyrus Sallier No. 3, bearing date the seventh year of the Great Ramses, and containing the poetic eulogium on the Conqueror by Pentaur (which, by the way, the vain hero had engraved on the walls of the temple of Karnak), mentions as the *writer of books* among the Khetas in Northern Palestine a personage who is called Khirapsar. So that in the age of Moses the royal historiographer seems to have been an already established dignitary in the Canaanite courts. During

the battle, moreover, fought between them and Ramses, an ambassador of the Kheta presents to the Pharaoh a written supplication. When the war was over, a regular treaty of peace was written out on both sides. The Egyptian copy, though somewhat mutilated, has been transferred to the Denkmäler. But its counterpart is there said to have been written out by the Kheta on a tablet of silver, whose square form is represented among the hieroglyphics. In confirmation of this nation's familiarity with writing even before the period in question, it may be noted that in the district of the Hittites—who, notwithstanding Chabas' scepticism, were undoubtedly identical with the Kheta—was situated Kirjath-sepher, meaning *Book town*, a name which in Joshua's time had already become antiquated (*Jos. xv. 15*). Indeed it now appears that the Phoenician character itself came directly from the Egyptian hieratic long before the age of the Papyrus Prisse. When looking over the comparative table exhibited by De Rougé or Lenormant, no one can doubt the identity of the two systems. The hieratic, as it was written two centuries before Moses, is so much degenerated from the old type, that a comparison with it does not establish sufficiently the resemblance. That comes out stronger the more we approach the original form, whether of Phoenician or of hieratic. In the Papyrus Prisse we come nearest to it. But even in that, notwithstanding the strong and unmistakable likeness, we miss some points of similarity which, no doubt, existed in an earlier age.

We need, however, no further proof of the vast antiquity of writing among the Semitic nations than the fact (so conclusive to Ewald's mind) that the words פְּתַחַב דָּיו, סְפִיר, meaning *write, book, ink*, are common to them all. The inference is that writing in ink was known among the Semites in prehistoric times, before they broke up into separate nationalities, as Chaldees, Syrians, Hebrews, Phoenicians, Arabs, or Ethiopians. What wonder, then, that in the age of Moses writing among the Hebrews should be so common an accomplishment, that he grounds his law permissive of divorce on its universal and everyday usage in society? (*Deut. xxiv. 1*).

We may seem to dwell upon this point at some disproportionate length; but having here made our footing firm, we must not be content with merely warding off hostile attacks. In establishing, as we can, the common usage of a Semitic alphabet, and, further, in accepting the concession of such a scholar as Ewald, that at the time of the Exodus there already existed an earlier Hebrew literature, however scanty, we stand upon vantage-ground which becomes a starting-point for fresh acquisitions. If Moses had the means and materials for writing, and even existing literary models before him, it becomes highly probable that he did write. We lay claim to a strong *a priori* presumption that one who was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians" would take so obvious and easy a precaution to secure the preservation of a code which he gave with such solemnity to a people whose tendencies to lawlessness and obstinate resistance he knew so well. The idea of

an orally delivered legislation has no foundation in likelihood or in external evidence. If, again, Moses did put his laws in writing, it is most improbable that the original should have been lost sight of without leaving a trace behind, and still further that a fictitious code, forged under his name, should have been successfully substituted in their place.

But more than this—the old assumption that alphabetic writing was an impracticable or, at least, a very rare accomplishment, was at the bottom of others equally gratuitous. The denial of the antiquity of the Hebrew *language* in the form in which it appears in the Pentateuch, followed naturally from a denial of the antiquity of Hebrew *writing*. The one objection borrows all its force and vitality from the other. For a language possessing a literature, and especially one which, from the circumstances of its origin or authorship, would be likely to become a standard or classical model, would be far less liable to change or decadence than a merely spoken dialect. The objection of Davidson and others that Moses could not, of himself, have created so many varied literary styles,—the historic, prophetic, rhetorical, and poetic—weak as it is in any case, is but another lingering echo of the same ignorant prejudice against the antiquity of a Semitic alphabet. Once admit the full force of the fact that the Hebrews were familiar with letters at the time of the Exodus, and taking into consideration the varied circumstances under which the great lawgiver, prophet, and historian lived and wrote, the interruptions to which he must have submitted, the different characters he had to sustain, then, the literary phenomena of the Pentateuch become not only intelligible, but precisely what we should have expected, and such that they may be converted into a positive and presumptive argument on our side. Much, therefore, of the matter which is discussed with remarkable ability by Dr. Smith, under the head of alleged linguistic incongruities with the age of Moses, may be advantageously studied in connection with the positive rather than the negative criticism. For here also the very minute philological analysis to which the text has been submitted by rationalizing Hebraists in search of a phraseology, or of grammatical forms, betraying a later age than the Mosaic, or one more conformable to the assumed age of the composition, has only resulted in their own discomfiture. The language of the Pentateuch is undoubtedly archaic. It possesses peculiarities in words, in forms, in meanings and spellings, bearing a strong stamp of antiquity, and re-appearing in no later book. We can trace the Hebrew vocabulary in its growth; we can detect new technical terms introduced in David's time, see it enlarged and enriched under

the influence of the commercial enterprises of Solomon ; and when we "compare the diction of the Pentateuch with that in use when Jeremias or Ezechiel flourished, the difference is so marked as to make it simply ludicrous to discuss the question." The points of *dissimilarity* between the diction of the former and that of the last days of the monarchy, or between even the language of Ruth and of Samuel, or Judges, are now "pronounced by the first Hebrew scholar of the day to be so surprisingly great, as to call for the attention of the philosopher equally with the scrutiny of the philologist."

We start, then, on our investigation, with palaeographical and philological science thus far lending their support to the traditional belief. Passing over an admirable section of our author's work on the explicit testimony of Christ and the Apostles, adduced "more to serve as a beacon-light for the Christian, than as a demonstration for the sceptic," but which, however, we commend to our readers as a model specimen of Catholic exegesis, and a crushing refutation of the "accommodation" theory as applied to our Blessed Lord's words, we proceed to the discussion of the external evidence for the Mosaic authorship derived from the history and literature of the Hebrews prior to the time of the Captivity.

In the first place, it is capable of critical demonstration, if indeed the fact were not for the most part freely admitted, that the book of Deuteronomy implies the existence of the four preceding books in their present form. If we had no other proof, the opening verses, which, on any other hypothesis, present insoluble puzzles in geography and chronology, would on this point be sufficiently conclusive. *This law* in verse 5, which Moses in the land of Moab began to explain (*בְּעֵד*), can only refer to the *foregoing*, and not to the *following* legislation. But the close imitation of passages and verbal transcripts throughout the book supplies additional evidence that Deuteronomy is in great part a recapitulation of the law, with comments, readjustments, abridgements, and supplementary matter proceeding from an authoritative source, and delivered in a popular and oratorical form. It so essentially breathes the very spirit of Moses himself, and so faithfully exhibits his fatherly tenderness of heart, that we shall not be surprised to find it more known, and its language more frequently quoted than that of any other portion of the Pentateuch. It was the book of the people, as Leviticus was the book of the priest.

Now we can trace the existence of Deuteronomy—and by implication, therefore, the rest of the Pentateuch also—from the last days of the kings back to the hands of Moses, its

author. We find it in the hands of Josias, in the eighteenth year of his reign ; for “*The Book of the Law*” then found in the Temple, and which we have every reason to believe to be the very autograph of Moses, contained it without doubt. We have the testimony of the high priest Helcias, the scribe and chancellor Saphan, of priests, levites, and people, of the prophetess Holda, and that of the king himself, who all believed it to be no other than the work of Moses, and acted forthwith upon that belief. Every allusion made to the contents of this volume, the references to the “curses” and to the “covenant,” the expressions used by Holda, who borrows its phrases, all point to the same conclusion. Dr. Colenso, indeed, allows it to be Deuteronomy, but would have us believe that it was no ancient copy accidentally discovered, as the history distinctly affirms, but a new production—the result of a gross forgery, in which priest, prophetess, and even Jeremias himself had a part, and by which the too credulous king was duped. But then, what are we to say of the earlier narratives, which equally vouch for the existence of the book ? What of Amasias, whose first recorded act, two centuries before Josias, is one at variance with all Oriental custom and precedent, though in exact accordance with Deuteronomic law ? “He put his servants to death that had slain the king his father ; but the children of the murderers he did not put to death, according to that which is written in the book of the law of Moses, saying, the fathers shall not be put to death for the children, nor the children be put to death for the fathers, but every man shall be put to death for his own sin.” (4 Kings, xiv. 6.) The words here given are a verbal transcript of Deut. xxiv. 6. So again we meet with the book at the coronation ceremony of the infant king Joas, in נִזְדָּמָת, the *testimony* which, with the article prefixed, and interpreted by the circumstances of the case, plainly indicates the standard copy of the law formerly presented to the sovereign at his installation, a custom, no doubt, originating in the precept of Deut. xvii. 18-21. We find traces of it in the organization of the tribunals of justice under Josaphat, and further back, still more unmistakably, at Solomon’s dedication of the Temple.

In his prayer on that memorable occasion we find, as we should have expected, the king “pouring out his heart most eloquently before Jehovah, his whole fancy impregnated with the imagery of that eloquent book, his mind teeming with its ideas, his thoughts running on its prophecies, his language borrowed from its pages.” The parallelism and frequent identity of word and phrase between the speech of Solomon

and the exhortations of Moses is of such a kind as to leave no room for any other hypothesis but that the king was acquainted with and borrowed from Deuteronomy. The same may be said of the speeches and actions of Josue. His whole career furnishes decisive indications, quite apart from the direct statements of the historian, that the last book of Moses was familiar to him. His conduct is regulated by its precepts, he is filled with its spirit, he is versed in its language, and, obeying the command of Moses, "read all the words of the law, the blessings and cursings, according to all that is written in the book of the law," in the very words of Deut. xxvii. 2-13.

A chain such as this when drawn out at length with all the minute corroborative links of evidence, undesignedly furnished by the narrative, is not easily broken. But Dr. Smith now proceeds to more than double the force of the argument by reversing the chronological process, and retracing his steps from Josue back to the Captivity, and showing that the whole Hebrew constitution, history and literature, are grounded upon the written Pentateuch, and inconceivable without it. He begins by proving that in the age of Josue the Hebrew commonwealth was fully organized according to the plan of Moses, that the civil code then in operation, the Levitical system and religious ordinances, were precisely those of the Pentateuch; that, furthermore, all the historical facts of the past alluded to incidentally in the book of Josue tally exactly with the representation of those facts in the Mosaic writings, and, in fine, that the literature of the former is deeply tinged with the ideas and language of the latter.

The same minute comparison is next applied to the times of the Judges, of David and Solomon, and the Kings both of Judah and Israel. Most important are the traces of an acknowledged written law in the time of Jeroboam, and among the seceding tribes of the north; and most ably are they brought into view by Dr. Smith. By his well-executed plan the writings of the Prophets are surveyed in conjunction with the contemporaneous chronicles of the kingdom which they serve to illustrate. The literature is discussed simultaneously with the history of war and politics, society and religion, in such a manner as to place before us, in striking and vivid relief, successive pictures of the national life of Israel, in place of the usual series of dry commentaries on a selection of disconnected texts, too commonly produced under the head of external evidence. A single sentence will speak volumes when put in its true chronological place, and when we have recalled before us the scenes in the midst of which the Prophet spoke, and can compare his words

with the statements of the narrator who in latter times compiled the annals of the rebellious kingdom. For example, when Jehovah, enumerating Ephraim's crimes, puts this among the rest, "Do I write for him my myriad laws; they are accounted as a thing that is strange" (Osee viii. 12), could Osee more distinctly prove to us by this hyperbole that the law which Achab and Jehu had been denounced for despising, and which Israel had forgotten, was both a written and a comprehensive law?

When we study in this way the historical books of Scripture, a multitude of undesigned coincidences and touches of nature bring home to us the reality and truth, which rise, as it were unconsciously, to the pen of a faithful narrator. It is in such genuine histories that even the description of the anarchy and lawlessness which at times prevail will betray indubitable traces of those very legal and social regulations of which the breach only is recorded. Thus anomalies such as the rash vow of Jephtha, or the rebellious and anti-theocratic spirit which demanded of Samuel kingly rule, are made, under the hand of a true critic, to reveal the existence and obligation of a code which, by more superficial observers, they are thought to disprove.

With regard, therefore, to the credibility of the narrative, we might almost be dispensed from tedious investigations and criticisms of the original sources from which the information they convey is professedly derived; yet we need not shrink from the inquiry. It can, on the contrary, but add fresh strength to our position. Let us take, for instance, the historical work, against which our adversaries level, naturally enough, their fiercest denunciations. The Chronicler is accused by turns of ignorance, incompetency, and exaggeration, or intentional falsification of history; yet we are not dealing, in his case, with a compiler of vague, unwritten traditions, easily moulded at will. He gives, methodically, his several authorities, he quotes from some sixteen different writings, which (though some are anonymous) for the most part bear the names of well-known and venerated authors, who were not only witnesses, but chief actors in the transactions they describe, amongst whom we find such prophets as Nathan and Gad, Samuel and Isaias. If the good faith and substantial accuracy of the writer of the Book of Chronicles are allowed to stand, the case against the Mosaic authorship is doomed. No wonder, then, that his honesty is called in question, and that critics like Gramberg should find no escape from the evidence of history but in the suggestion that the Chronicler not only coloured his narrative with prejudice and

falsehood, but unblushingly invented the very authorities he pretends to rely upon !

When our opponents resort to such unproved assumptions as these, they virtually abandon the ground of external evidence altogether. They retreat, leaving us confessedly in possession of the whole field of *written history*; and in the subjective spirit of the age, despising all such historic proof, and relying rather upon their own favourite methods of critical analysis, they call upon us to substantiate the Mosaic authorship on exclusively *internal grounds*.

We do not fear to accept this challenge. We can afford to waive every other evidence save that afforded by the character, structure, and subject matter of the book itself, and following our adversaries to the battle-field of their own choice, turn their strongest weapons against themselves. It is, perhaps, in this branch of the inquiry that to many of his readers Dr. Smith's researches will be found most interesting. His statement of the *direct* internal evidence is forcibly put, his illustrations of the Mosaic ritual and law, and of some peculiar expressions of the Pentateuch from Egyptian hieroglyphics, furnishing *indirect* arguments for its Mosaic origin, are in many instances entirely new; but, above all, we remark the vast amount of good material and cogent reasoning which he has been enabled to put together by his ingenious method of treating separately the three characters who appear in the work,—the Lawgiver, the Historian, and the Deuteronomist, and the conclusive proof thereby obtained in the sequel that these three are but one and the same individual, who can be successfully identified with no one but Moses.

The results of the internal criticism are then briefly these: The Pentateuch claims Moses for its author. In several portions the claim is direct. It is implied throughout. The signature of Moses is formally affixed to the book of Deuteronomy: "And Moses wrote this law and gave it unto the priests," &c. (Deut. xxxi. 9). *This law*, the law just expounded, is the same as that previously referred to in Deut. i. 5, and which is contained in the preceding books. The signature of Moses is thus shown to substantially cover the whole of the Pentateuch. Taking next the Deuteronomist by himself, we find him exhibiting minute and correct knowledge of Egyptian climate, manners, &c. The incidental and picturesque allusion to the water-wheel turned by the foot for the irrigation of the land (Deut. xi. 10); the command to carry the law on the hand and forehead, to inscribe it on great stones coated with plaster, and on the door-posts of houses; the mode of inflicting the bastinado; the ox treading out the

corn unmuzzled ; the mining operations contemplated in Deut. viii. 9,—these are some few of the many thoroughly Egyptian practices, which have compelled Ewald to make his Deuteronomist (whom he puts in the reign of Manasses) during some time a resident in Egypt, to account for his familiarity with its usages. But such a gratuitous hypothesis is insufficient to explain the Egyptian colouring to be traced in the legislative enactments themselves. The author, too, speaks of the miseries of the bondage from which his countrymen were but just freed, with an inimitable air of reality, as if they were vividly present before his mind in all their freshness, and his hearers equally familiar with them. The generous appeal to be kind to strangers, in memory of their own sufferings (v. 15, xxiv. 18, 22), bears an unmistakable stamp of genuineness.

Again, the Deuteronomist had his share in the Exodus, and was present at Sinai. He mentions places not found in the former narratives, new facts and incidents, with apparent contradictions, which only help to show his unsuspecting truthfulness. He speaks artlessly as an eye-witness. He views the development of the history from the stand-point of the Exodus. He never dreamed of the capture of the ark, of the schism of Jeroboam, or the future revolutions of his country ; he even proposes arrangements, and assigns geographical boundaries for the nation, which were never carried into effect. The additions and changes made in some of the laws go to show that Moses himself is the speaker, correcting and abrogating portions of his previous legislation, which would be no longer applicable to the desert which the people were now on the point of quitting. The language he uses is archaic—not a word or phrase occurs that is the growth of a later age. Forms and particles peculiar to the Pentateuch are met with in numbers. נָתַן still stands invariably for the feminine as well as the masculine ; בָּנָה is still used equally for boy and girl.

Turning to the first four books, we find here, also, that the legislation contained in them bears the impress of the desert ; is impregnated with Egyptian memories ; has Chanaan yet only in prospect ; gives proof of being drawn up in the lifetime of Aaron and Eliezar, and of having sprung from the nomad life ; until, in gathering up our results, we learn the astonishing fact that “almost every group of Pentateuchal laws, and every national institution based on them, bears one or more internal marks characteristic of Mosaic origin.” This inference is forced upon us by analytical tests which are irresistible. Most noteworthy is the way in which the laws are shown to have arisen out of the circumstances of the time, and to be so closely imbedded

in the historic framework as to be inseparable from it. So also do the minute descriptions and detailed measurements of the architecture and furniture of the Tabernacle point to the same conclusion ; for what possible purpose of some political reformer—in an age when the Tabernacle was an antiquated relic, and when the public worship was conducted in the Temple—could be served by such a superfluous, intricate forgery as this ? Moreover, the written forms of the various laws regarding the camp life of the wilderness, useless and inexplicable to generations no longer nomadic, and especially some of the enactments concerning the Paschal institution, make a series of links which bind together and identify Moses their author, with the narrator of the history as we have it before us. The want of systematic codification, with fragments of legislation lying scattered over the work, presenting as they do apparent anomalies and repetitions, so far from indicating a succession of compilers, as they might to a superficial critic, will, on a closer investigation, betray this identity of the lawgiver with the historian, who records his decrees just as historical circumstances give them birth, in such a way too that the code is unintelligible without the narrative which supplements its deficiencies and interprets its meaning.

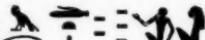
Passing from the legislator to the historian, taken by himself, we discover traces of his intimate acquaintance with Egypt and the Arabian desert, though he shows himself to be not personally familiar with Chanaan. He writes for those who are, like himself, better acquainted with the former than the latter ; and finally we detect him letting drop proof of the very date in which he finished his work. As in the case of Deuteronomy, already alluded to, so with the preceding books, the testimony of Egypt to their genuineness is curious and manifold, exhibiting the obviously unconscious reflection of the truth, and not of a kind which could be readily acquired at a later day by study or travel.

If it were possible for an ingenious Israelite of the time of the Kings to have made himself acquainted with the geographical features and climate of the Nile valley, the laws, and customs, and language of its inhabitants, for the purpose of giving more colour to his own contemplated imposture, this supposition would not by any means adequately account for all the literary phenomena to be found in the work. It is not always in broad sketches or pointed allusions, which might be an intentional display on the part of an author, that the Egyptian traces are discovered, but they peep out frequently in words and phrases, the derivation of which a forger of the days of the Monarchy would not readily have conceived.

Egyptian terms are used by Moses, understood well enough in his day, but which had subsequently dropped out of use. Others have kept their place in the language, but have undergone some alteration in their former meaning, and no longer retain any vestige of their original source.

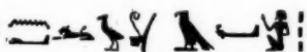
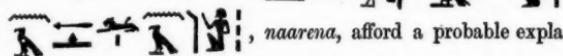
Or, again, there are facts casually referred to, full of significance to a generation brought up in the land of Gessen, but without meaning if addressed to those to whom the country was a foreign land. It is from Egypt that the author takes his illustrations when he wishes to convey a definite idea of his subject; thus the Jordan district, before the destruction of Sodom had changed its face, is compared "to the land of Egypt as thou comest unto Segor" (Gen. xiii. 10), where also, we should remark, the reader is supposed to be travelling, not like a Chanaanite, from Segor southward to Egypt, but like a Hebrew at the Exodus from Egypt towards Segor. Similarly, the antiquity of Hebron is judged of in comparison with Zoan or Tanis, which is evidently well known. (Num. xiii. 22.) "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt." What information would this have conveyed to an Israelite of Palestine some centuries after the Exodus? Amongst words which, although etymologically derived from Hebrew roots, find their best explanation in Egyptian usages, we may pick out such a one as בַּשְׂמָחָה (Exod. xiii. 18). The children of Israel are represented as leaving Egypt *khamushim*, variously rendered "harnessed," "armed," &c. That the term has etymologically some connection with the numeral *five* has been indeed conjectured; but wild guesses have been thrown out as to its precise application. The Septuagint hazarded πέμπτη δὲ γενεὰ, "in the fifth generation." Its origin, however, as ingeniously explained by Dr. Smith, not only points to Egypt, but also satisfactorily dismisses several pages of objection raised against the credibility of the story by Colenso, on the assumption that the translation should be "armed." As an instance, too, of the light which may be thrown by one little word like this, on the extraordinary capabilities for numerical combinations and rapid organization manifested by the Israelites throughout their wanderings, we will give Dr. Smith's suggestion as to its origin in his own words:—

Hitherto the term has not been satisfactorily explained. Literally it means *fixed*, or organized by fives. Now, we learn from the monuments of the XII. Dyn. that out-door labourers were organized in gangs of that number,

under the superintendence of an officer named  *mertut*,

the superintendent of five. The servile labours of the Hebrews were, no doubt, arranged and carried out on the usual plan ; and Moses naturally took advantage of an organization so simple and complete to facilitate the transmission of his orders before the start, and to secure regularity of movement during the march itself. Hence the companies of the army seem to have been divided in the same way ; and the term, as thus implying a complete and effective organization, came to signify an army on the alert and well equipped (Jos. i. 14 ; Jud. vii. 11).

The explanation of a peculiar usage of the word נער, *lad*, extended sometimes to those who no longer could properly be termed youths, affords us another example of a similar derivation, and performs the double duty of indicating recent Egyptian influence, thereby indirectly referring to the Mosaic age, and getting rid of a difficulty in the text.

The Egyptian foreign auxiliaries, called , *nearuna*, and , *naarena*, afford a probable explanation of the word נער, *naar*, as applied to Joshua in Ex. xxxiii. 11. De Rougé looks upon *nearuna* as one of the many Semitic terms appropriated by Egypt about the XIX. Dynasty. The corps certainly existed in the time of Ramses the Great, and most likely was composed partly, if not chiefly, of Hebrews. Had Joshua held military rank in it, his own experiences were just the thing to qualify him for the supreme command entrusted to him by Moses. Taking, therefore, the word *naar* (Ex. xxxiii. 11) as designating a member of the corps named in Egyptianized Semitic *nearuna*, and in Hebrew *nearim*, we get rid of all the awkwardness found by our opponents in the text ; for there is no need to translate it either by *young man* or by *servant*. The former may not be very suitable to Joshua, who was at the time perhaps forty years of age ; and the latter is superfluous after the word *minister*.

The same interpretation may be extended to Ex. xxiv. 5, where the *nearim of the children of Israel* are appointed to slay the victims offered up in ratification of the covenant. They were under the immediate command of the trusty Joshua ; they had just distinguished themselves against Amalek (Ex. xvii. 8-13) ; and from their military readiness and expertness were the parties most suitable for those duties, to which Aaron and the Levites had not yet been consecrated.

Such, then, is the sort of positive evidence which we can bring in support of our thesis. On every side from which we view it, whether externally or internally, historically or philosophically, the conclusion that Moses wrote the Pentateuch is forced upon us by the rules of sound criticism. The proof is unusually varied in character, made up of antecedent probabilities, the formal declarations of competent authorities, and confirmed by a multiplicity of indirect and undesigned testi-

monies arising out of a minute analysis of the document itself. No work of antiquity can boast of anything like such a mass of evidence in proof of its authorship. By what strange process, then, have rationalistic critics arrived at results so opposed to ours? Assuredly not by scientific criticism, unless it belongs to the province of such criticism to decide that a divine revelation to man is an absolute impossibility, and a belief in miracle and prophecy necessarily a delusion. It is true enough that if the Pentateuch be not divine it carries on its front the stamp of imposture. It is to be expected that critics who start with the assumption that it is not divine, and therefore non-Mosaic, should snatch desperately at any straw upon its surface, to find support for the hypothesis of a series of narrators and compilers of a later age. A refutation of these theories will be valuable as a *reductio ad absurdum*, exposing the puerilities to which a criticism must descend which disdains to listen to the voice of historic facts, and in which the only notion of internal evidence is that founded on the arbitrary principles of a subjective philosophy. We are now in a position to demand *proof* that Moses did not write the books attributed to him, before we discuss the existence of possible authors who may be imagined to have written them if he did not. When thus pressed, our opponents are found to have nothing more solid to fall back upon than a certain number of alleged signs of a later age scattered here and there throughout the Pentateuch, many of which exist only in the imagination of the objectors, or are too trivial to occasion any serious difficulty to any one accustomed to weigh critical evidence without prejudice. On the other hand, there are some passages which present considerable difficulty, and which have been too often carelessly evaded or rejected as glosses or excrescences, not belonging to the original text, but which nevertheless demand the most serious attention of the conservative critic.

It would not, of course be surprising if, after the centuries which have elapsed since the Pentateuch was first penned, there were discovered sprinkled over its pages many statements which we cannot in the present state of our knowledge satisfactorily reconcile with Mosaic authorship. It would be more than strange too, if, in the number of hands through which the sacred text has passed, copied and recopied, as it has been, by Jew and Christian, learned Hebraist and ignorant amanuensis, it had not undergone some trifling alteration or admitted some few interpolations which should cause perplexity to the modern reader.

But here, again, we meet with another triumph of true

criticism. Every single so-called anachronism or incongruity has been now sifted and tested by a careful examination, and, we venture to assert, with a twofold result which is most important. First, we find, contrary to a very natural expectation, that there is no need in any one instance to seek refuge in a hypothetical retouching of a later hand, or in interpolations, accidental or designed. A parenthetic clause which A Lapide would unhesitatingly assign to Josue or Esdras may now be restored to the pen of Moses. We doubt much if the work of Esdras upon the Bible of his day, so often made to cover the deficiencies of a timid or indolent exegesis, differed in kind or degree from the revision of the Vulgate under the Popes Sixtus and Clement. The negative criticism has ended in leaving us the integrity of the text, and the Mosaic authorship of the whole, more solidly established than at the beginning of this century. Secondly, not only have true critics been able to suggest possible or plausible interpretations of disputed texts consistently with their Mosaic origin, but also in many instances they have discovered fresh glimpses of light and unity, where hitherto all had been entanglement and obscurity. What were previously objections have now been converted into proofs, and many a deep prophetic hint has been found lurking under the surface of what to an unobservant eye might have passed for an anachronism or a gloss.

The portion of Dr. Smith's volume devoted to the negative criticism abounds with instances of this kind. Unexpected rays of light break in upon the reader so frequently that we forget that we are acting on the defensive against the supposed strong points of our adversaries. We feel, on the contrary, that as imaginary difficulties vanish one by one, we are at each step making a positive advance, while on all sides symmetry and harmony are disclosing themselves where opponents would have us see only discrepancy and confusion. Dr. Smith's treatment of the geographical anomaly in Gen. xiv. may be taken as an example of what we mean, though here we can only give a small part of his comments on it. Abraham is said to have pursued the kings who carried away Lot as far as *Dan*. Now we learn from Josue xix. 47, and Judges xviii. 29, that the name of the place was *Laish* until the Danites took possession of it, and called it *Dan* after the name of their father. It is strange, however, that this name should occur in a passage which Ewald and others, from internal data, have assigned to a pre-Mosaic antiquity. Ewald gets over the obstacle which, therefore lies in his way as much as in ours, by suggesting an after-substitution of the later for the original name. This does not satisfy Dr. Smith,

who, after pointing out some curious mythological facts connected with the name *Dan*—originally of the same meaning as *Baal*, master, lord, and referred to the same root as the Hebrew בָּאֵל, Phenician 𐤀𐤁, sounded *Adân* in Syrophenician—identifies this *Dan* with the renowned Adonis, who is also called *Baal*, and whose worship goes back unquestionably beyond the age of Abraham. He thinks it not unlikely that “Rachel in calling her son *Dan* (Gen. xxx. 6), chose a name already in use, although she gave it an application entirely new. There can be little doubt that Leah in an analogous case gave her son the name of *Gad* (Gen. xxx. 11), though it had already been appropriated to the deity of good fortune.”

And finally:—

For all these reasons we can hardly be wrong in assuming that at *Laish* or *Leshem* there was a sanctuary of Pan-Adonis-Eshmûn before it became an Israelitic town. And on that supposition, the appropriateness of the name *Dan*, even in those early days, at once appears.

How then is it represented in *Joshua* and *Judges* as a new name given to it by the *Danites*? In the case of *Bethel* and *Hebron* we have seen the old name reimposed and renewed in such a way, at the time of the conquest, as to appear entirely new to superficial criticism. In the case of *Dan* there was something much more new. For although the old name was revived, it was in a new sense. They suppressed *Laish*, and resumed the ancient appellation, not because it had anything to do with *Dan* the pipe-player, but because it happened to coincide with the name of their father.

Indeed it would almost seem that this name, still lingering on in the mouth of the country people, was the very cause that led to the invasion. How was it that *Dan*, contrary to the practice of all the other settled tribes, should break up into two settlements so far apart from one another; and, while the bulk of the tribe lay on the skirts of *Judah* and *Simeon*, should overleap *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, *Zebulon* and *Naphtali*, and plant itself in the most northern extremity of the land? No doubt they were pressed for room. But why go all the way to *Dan*, and separate from their brethren? They thought it an easy conquest. But why think of *Dan* at all, which geographically lay within the territory of *Asher* or *Naphtali*? It was not from accident. For it is clear, from the context, that the scouts had been expressly instructed to explore this precise spot, and no other. On their return they give such an account of their expedition as supposes that the assembly already knows the place whither they had gone: “And they said, Arise that we may go up against them; for we have seen the land, and behold it is very good” (*Jud. xviii. 9*). In our hypothesis there is an intelligible reason for this. The old name of Abraham’s time still clung around the spot. The *Danites* had heard of it; and probably thought that it had some connection with their father, and should, in consequence, belong to them. Moses himself had seemed to point to this consummation in the few expressive words he had used of their tribe in his last blessing: “*Dan* is a lion’s whelp; he shall leap from *Bashan*” (*Deut. xxxiii. 22*). The city lay on the border

of Bashan. What better fulfilment of the prophecy, than to steal upon it in this way from the east, and suddenly from Bashan pounce upon the unsuspecting victim? Then, indeed, as the city was the mother of its inhabitants, would Dan become in a double sense the lion's whelp. For Laish was the city of the lion. Pondering on these things, when they felt themselves shut up by their enemies in a narrow space, they send to explore the city whose double name had excited their curiosity. They find the conquest both desirable and feasible. They storm the town; and, rebuilding it according to their own ideas, call it "Dan, after the name of Dan their father."

The concluding remarks of our author in defence of the natural interpretation of the words, "and the Chanaanite was then in the land" (Gen. xii. 6), when the word *then* is so often insisted upon as indicating a time posterior to the conquest of Palestine, when the Chanaanite was no longer there, may be cited as another illustration of what we call Dr. Smith's *positive* way of looking at the negative criticism:—

With especial reference to the interpolating theory we may observe, in conclusion, that the critical eye would rather suspect a gap, if the clause had been absent, than an interpolation because it is present. Three times in the Pentateuch the Canaanites are expressly named in connection with the arrival of Abraham or his seed upon the spot. Abraham makes it his first residence. There is Shechem, there is the terebinth of Moreh, there is Jehovah's altar, and there is the Canaanite (Gen. xii. 6-8). Jacob, on his return from Syria, makes straight for the place. There is Shechem, there are the terebinths of Moreh, there the altar and the Canaanites (Gen. xxxiii. 18-20; xxxiv. 30; xxxv. 4). Israel is ready to cross the Jordan, and they are commanded by Moses to march as soon as possible to the hallowed spot, where by Shechem and the terebinths of Moreh in the land of the Canaanite, who still was there (Deut. xi. 29, 30), Joshua was to erect the altar, and inaugurate his possession of the country (Jos. viii. 30-35). It is plain that the same idea lies at the bottom of all these passages, and that in each of them the Canaanite is brought prominently forward as the race doomed to extermination. Even Knobel admits that their original doom is kept in view throughout the work, for the purpose of justifying the conquest under Joshua. This triple parallelism would of itself suggest the propriety of the clause appearing where it does in Genesis. But when we consider that the passage there is the original, and serves as the type of the others, we cannot but feel that we should have missed it had it not been there.

What we have said of Gen. xii. 6 will apply in a great measure to the parallel clause: "The Canaanite and the Perizzite abode then in the land" (Gen. xiii. 7). There is, however, a special reason for the remark in this place. It would seem to be inserted to make the story of Lot's withdrawal from Canaan more intelligible. The difficulty of finding room and pasture for his and Abraham's numerous flocks and herds, gave occasion to frequent feuds among their respective herdsmen and retainers. For they were not the only settlers in the country. Besides the polished Canaanites, who, as

the original tribe, held the fortified towns, there were also the Perizzites, who, etymologically as well as historically, were the lowland peasantry, devoted to agriculture and pasturage (*Ez. xxxviii. 11*; *Zech. ii. 8*; *1 Sam. vi. 18*; *Deut. iii. 5*). These had naturally preoccupied the richest pastoral districts, and cooped up the new-comers within a space too limited for their comfort. This reflection lights up in colours of vivid reality the picture, as given us by Moses in all its primitive artlessness: “And the land was not able to bear them, that they might abide together: for their substance was great, so that they were not able to abide together. And there was a quarrel between the herdsmen of Abraham’s cattle and the herdsmen of Lot’s cattle: and the Canaanite and the Perizzite abode then in the land.”

With regard to the tactics of our adversaries, it must be remarked that even when they professedly argue from our own stand-point, and abandon their favourite proofs, derived from a denial of the supernatural, they yet straightway take up a position equally unreasonable by grounding their attack upon recorded words or actions, necessarily involved in or resulting from supernatural facts, which are presupposed. Thus, in the Pentateuch many of the statements alleged to be inconsistent with Mosaic authorship, turn upon allusions to future events which it is assumed are beyond the horizon of any natural foresight, and yet which are not specially attributed to Divine revelation. There are certainly glimpses cast by Moses into the far distant future of his nation, which do not bear any close analogy to the predictions of the later prophets, and which—though committed to writing by inspiration—are not necessarily *prophetic*. But where are we to draw the line between prophecy and the utterances of a supernatural faith, founded on the Divine revelations of the past? In the history of Israel, Divine manifestations had so abounded as to impregnate and influence the whole national life. The political aspirations of the people, as well as their religious ideas, were simply the product of their belief in the promises made by God to their forefathers. If we ignore this—the fundamental idea upon which the whole superstructure of their constitution is built, and around which cluster all the marvellous occurrences of their history—of course both the career of Moses and his writings will be alike unintelligible. But if we judge of the origin and growth of the nation in the light of its own claims, then, all that is unlike the gradual development of merely human institutions, and all that is singular in the Mosaic records—the prospective legislation, the prophetic warning, the viewing of the future as if present before the eye of the speaker, will only add to the consistency and reality of the picture drawn before us. Conscious of his high destiny, it was part of the religion of an Israelite to look

forward with certainty to the possession of the promised land ; it was but natural to him to speak and think of it as the home already secured to him. To him the fact of his leader, under the inspiration of a strong faith, and, with the poetry of a graphic language, speaking of the victories of the future as if already won, or in his practical wisdom dictating rules for the guidance of their expected kings, would present no incongruity. The Hebrews lived too upon the memories of the past favours of God to their race as a guarantee for its future glories. They would treasure up in their recollections, for instance, the old designations of a favourite patriarchal site, and long for the day when they might solemnly reimpose them upon such spots, held sacred in days gone by, and since then, perhaps, changed in name and desecrated by the stranger. This tie, which linked together in their minds the memory of the glorious past, with their hopes of future national greatness, explains their fondness for antiquarian lore, and supplies a clue to the meaning of many topographical or archaeological notes inserted in their chronicles. The story of Genesis is not an ill-assorted collection of fragments ; this is now becoming recognized by the most perverse of destructive critics—it is a complete introduction to the legislation of Sinai. The whole narrative is therefore designedly cast in a prophetic and typical mould. It looks forward at times even beyond the Desert to Palestine, the kingdom and the Temple ; and the artistic skill which determined the selection and arranged the matter, which pointed every detail with a moral lesson best adapted to the spiritual wants of the people, which interwove so much beauty of description with a narrative breathing such majestic dignity, must at least continue to be the wonder and delight of those who persist in denying to it the marks of a Divine inspiration. In the light of this unity of purpose and harmony of parts, many obscure expressions of the historian become ideas full of deep significance.

Herein is the real merit of the critic discernible—not in closing the mouth of the objector by a hap-hazard suggestion of a merely possible solution to his difficulty—but in tracing the thread of ideas which underlie the literary matter, and in finding a suitable place for the apparent incongruity within the general scope of the author's view. Dr. Smith has succeeded in doing this in such a manner as to impart a charm to that which otherwise would be the most wearisome and distasteful part of the apologist's task. Even the unlearned reader will scarcely be able to select a single section in which he will not find—in addition to an answer as intelligible as

the objection—fresh information of a most interesting character and abundant matter for thought.

To conclude, so far from admitting that modern inquiries have tended to increase the difficulties in the way of an orthodox interpretation of the Books of Moses, we venture to assert that the upshot of the whole controversy regarding the Pentateuch has been, from a Catholic point of view, to place true exegetical science on a firmer footing than before. The real difficulties of criticism begin when we abandon the Mosaic authorship. As it is, the attacks upon the genuineness have been productive of valuable results in other departments of Biblical science beyond the merely apologetic. An impulse has been given to the study of the higher theological aspects of the Bible. It has become more clearly understood that the key to much that at first sight appears trivial or incongruous in the letter, is to be found in the typological doctrine which gives to it life and spirit. Sacred Hermeneutics, as a science, has in many quarters made a decided advance in the right direction and is now cultivated in a more intelligent spirit than heretofore. Hitherto there has been too much tendency to separate the function of the critic from that of the commentator, as if exclusively dealing with a different subject-matter. What was called criticism moved in a restricted sphere of its own, independent of theology. Again, commentators themselves were divided off too distinctly into the adherents of a literal, and those of a mystical method of interpretation, whilst both have run into extremes. Writers, on the one hand, who build up arbitrary systems of mystical interpretations in defiance of the laws of hermeneutics too often run the risk of undermining the historic foundations upon which all such systems must ultimately rest. Origen found so much allegory and mystery in the recorded facts of Scripture as to lay himself open not unnaturally to the charge of discrediting their reality. Indeed, the mythical theory now in fashion among advanced rationalists is but a caricature of this one-sided allegorical treatment. Perhaps, also, an exaggerated doctrine of a multiplicity of literal senses has also helped to bring exegesis into disrepute; for to make a single proposition bear several literal meanings is to make it mean anything or nothing. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the rationalizing views prevalent among Protestants at the beginning of this century exercised a most baneful influence upon some Catholic writers. The works of the learned Jahn were thoroughly tainted with this narrow-minded naturalism of his day; whilst Arigler, in the same spirit, venturing to deny the existence of the mystical sense

altogether, drew upon himself the censures of the Church. Under such a mere grammatico-historical treatment, the Bible becomes a mass of disconnected fragments hopelessly unintelligible.

But a better spirit has been awakened. The typical structure of Holy Scripture has been recognized as the organic connection which governs the whole and binds together its several parts. Histories of Biblical Revelation, Christologies, and the like, have sprung up, supplying a want, and filling up a gap between the compilation of miscellaneous matter, such as is collected in introductions on the one hand, and the textual commentary on the other. Theology and criticism thus go hand in hand in the interpretation of God's word. The study of the human elements, the literary characteristics, the style and plan of the sacred writings, are invested with a new interest as being indispensable to a fuller comprehension of the spiritual teaching; whilst the symbolic and prophetic character of the record is made everywhere to give life and significance to what seemed trivial or perplexing in the letter. So with regard to the Mosaic writings, we have to take care that we neglect no light which history or philology can shed upon them, whilst we show that there is no key which can unlock the secrets of these mysterious books but the teaching of the Church concerning the Life and Sacrifice of Jesus, of whom Moses spoke. We shall then find that the Gospel and the Pentateuch, the Church and the Synagogue mutually illustrate and support each other, and thus supply the Catholic apologist with fresh materials for exhibiting in a new light the unity and harmony of Divine Revelation.

ART. II.—LE RÉCIT D'UNE SCEUR.

Le Récit d'une Sœur ; Souvenirs de Famille. Par Madame AUGUSTUS CRAVEN, née la Ferronnays. Paris.

NO European society is less accessible or less familiar to Englishmen than that of the French Legitimist families. It would suffice, therefore, to give great value to Mrs. Craven's work, that it gives us in minute detail the private life of one of the noblest and most worthy of these families, recorded from day to day, with unusual power and life, by their own hands. But its merits are far beyond this. We know no family history so fragrant with delicate poetical beauty, none whose whole tone is so elevating and ennobling. It combines

in a great measure the best qualities of a novel and of a book of spiritual reading. Full of high interest in the natural order, its chief characteristic is that it impresses upon every reader a deep practical sense of the supernatural character of daily life. It has attained a success almost unexampled. By the Academy of France it has not only been "crowned" (our readers must remember here the difference of national manners), but placed first among all the books so distinguished last year, and its sale has been rapid without example. The first edition of a hundred copies, intended for private circulation, created so great a sensation, that its publication was almost forced upon Mrs. Craven; and in a very few months it had run through seventeen editions.

The editor had scruples about publishing papers so evidently written only for the eye of the writers. They were, happily, overcome by finding a letter which gave the sanction of the person chiefly concerned (her late sister-in-law, Madame Albert de la Ferronnays), to their publication. The authority is sufficient; and, moreover, twenty years have gone by since the latest of those whose private life is here detailed passed into the state in which earthly criticism can no longer affect them.

We deeply feel the difficulty of giving any true idea of such a work. To judge of it by extracts is almost like judging of a great picture by cutting out from it a square inch. To appreciate its beauty we ought to make, slowly, and step by step, as in real life, the acquaintance and intimacy of the delicious characters whom it brings before us. Those by whom it has not been read complain that it is long. Those who have carefully read it regret only that it comes so soon to an end. We can only hope that the samples we shall give may tempt many of our readers to read the work for themselves.

The Count de la Ferronnays, the head of this family group, was a Breton nobleman, born December 4, 1777, in the sunny days of the *ancien régime*, when any man would have been deemed mad who had dared to forebode that the new-born child would live to see the throne of S. Louis five times overthrown.

Yet such was his destiny. While still a boy he was carried by his father to swell the crowd of French *émigrés* in Germany. At five-and-twenty he married (at Clagenfurth, in Carinthia, where the army of Condé was then quartered), the daughter of one of the most distinguished of his father's companions in exile and in arms, the Count of Montsoreau, whose sister had been governess to the children of Louis XVI.,

and the only companion of the royal family in the fatal flight to Varennes. Of eleven children of this marriage, four died in infancy. Almost the whole of the volumes before us is occupied by the correspondence, journals, and early deaths of two sisters, and of one brother and his wife. The other two brothers, less prominently brought forward in them, have since died. The sole survivors are Mrs. Craven herself and her youngest sister. Both of these are kept as much as possible in the background; the last, indeed, is hardly mentioned. The book, therefore, is a record of the departed.

In the eyes of the world, M. de la Ferronnays was merely an able and honourable man, who was ambassador at St. Petersburg and Minister for Foreign Affairs, which office in France, under the Restoration, was usually held by the Prime Minister. He was ambassador at Rome when the Revolution of July, 1830, caused his voluntary retirement into private life. This is commonly a much greater sacrifice to a French than to an English minister, as English statesmen are usually men of large fortune. In France this is seldom the case, and it is plain that it was not the case with him. From Naples, where the news reached them, Mrs. Craven returned with her father to Rome. Only three months before, the ladies had taken possession of a splendid palace in the Corso, highly enjoying their position (the highest held by any lady in Rome), as the wife and daughters of the representative of France under the elder branch of the house of Bourbon.

We found our poor house in a very different condition from what we looked forward to—already dismantled and half unfurnished. A carriage with magnificent horses had just arrived from Vienna. In it we took our first and last drive round the walls of Rome. I cannot say much as to my gaiety that evening. I keenly regretted Rome, and still more the pleasant course of life which I had enjoyed from my childhood, and which for me was at an end. I was therefore melancholy enough. But this did not last long. Our tender father had always so much accustomed us to the thought that all that was brilliant in the position we had hitherto occupied, depended upon circumstances which might any day change, that when the day actually came, it seemed to me that I had always expected it. . . . We were quite in the dark as to our future lot. We imagined that it would perhaps be like that of our parents during the first emigration; that is, very near absolute destitution, and we laid our plans accordingly. Eugénie said that she could teach music. I thought myself competent to be governess to some very young children. (Vol. i p. 16.)

Things were, in fact, not near so bad as the young people fancied; although M. de la Ferronnays had to sell a country seat on the banks of the Loire. This is nearly all

that would be recorded of him in a dictionary of contemporary statesmen. For Catholics, before this work was published, he had a special interest, as his intercession was the means of the conversion of Alphonse Ratisbonne, which took place while he was lying dead at Rome. Many interesting particulars are given in the volume before us. Especially we have his own testimony, that although he had never absolutely lost his faith, its exercise was long suspended, and that the single thread by which he was held and at last brought back to God, was the love to our Blessed Lady, which he never lost. It was this that made him sanguine of the conversion of Ratisbonne, when he heard that he had consented to wear a "miraculous medal." So high an honour conferred by God Himself upon the prayers of M. de la Ferronnays adds an additional interest to the record of those family joys and sorrows, to which he himself attributed the restoration of his religious life, and to which we are now to turn.

The heroine of the narrative is Alexandrine d'Alopeus, of whom we may safely say that seldom has any one been born whose lot promised to be much brighter in the natural order, or more hopeless in the supernatural. She had all the snares of wealth, beauty, and prosperity, her father holding one of the highest posts in the court of the Emperor of Russia. He was a Swede, her mother a Prussian Lutheran; and even in the Protestant world, there is probably no body by which Christian faith and Christian morals are so wholly forgotten as by the Prussian and Swedish Lutherans. It seemed settled beforehand that she was to be educated amid every possible allurement of splendour and luxury, and without any definite faith. So it would have seemed to human eyes. But nothing could be more remarkable than the watchful care of the Providence of God over her wellbeing. What probability there was that she would have been validly baptized if it had been left, as it naturally would, to a Lutheran minister, we do not know. The Catholic Church deems it necessary to baptize conditionally every convert so baptized. But the Emperor Alexander, wishing to do honour to her parents, volunteered to be her sponsor, and she thus obtained unquestionable baptism (from a schismatic priest) and the name of Alexandrine. Nothing seems to have been done by the authorities of the Greek Church to secure her having any Christian training. She was educated as a Lutheran; the Emperor, the Patriarch, and the other spiritual authorities to all appearance fully content that it should be so. *Non possumus* seems to have been the thought farthest from their minds. At fifteen she was to be "confirmed" in the Lutheran manner, and was instructed for the purpose by a

Lutheran minister. Was it owing to the grace of baptism that, out of so many Lutheran children who came to be prepared for the ceremony, this one found it impossible to satisfy herself with the utter uncertainty of his answers to her question, "What is truth?" and that she turned for the satisfaction of her difficulties to the Truth Himself; beseeching of her Heavenly Father to make clear to her the way of truth, and making to Him in return for this gift a solemn offering of her whole earthly happiness? "This prayer," writes Mrs. Craven, "she wrote at the time in a book, in which I read it with edification before it was fulfilled, and read it again with deep emotion after it had been accepted by God." (Vol. i. p. 29, note.)

It was in childhood, at St. Petersburg, that she made the friendship of Mrs. Craven, then Pauline de la Ferronnays; and when, a few years later, they met again in the brightest season of a girl's life and under the bright sun of Italy, their sisterly intercourse was at once renewed. She enters her thanksgiving in her journal—"I am at Naples, and I have once more met Pauline de la Ferronnays." But He who "leads the blind by a way that they know not" already had His hand upon her, to bring about the accomplishment of her early prayer, to make her not only a Catholic, but also one of a family of which the Catholic religion was the very life. This blessing, however, she was to purchase, according to the offer she had freely made, by the sacrifice not only of her country, her friends, her kindred, and her mother, but also of her whole earthly happiness. As yet her morning shone with unrivalled brilliancy. No cloud foreboded the tempests that were to darken her noon-day. At Rome, in January, 1832, she first met her husband, through whom so many blessings and so many sorrows were to come to her. Her journal, to which, after she had lost him, she made many additions, records all the joys and fears of their early love. On his side, but not on hers, it was "love at first sight." A few days later she writes:

I went with my friend Mary M. (an English girl) to hear the singing of the nuns at the Trinità del Montè. There I saw *M. de la Ferronnays* (as I then called Albert) on his knees the whole time. I felt an interest in him which I could not explain to myself, and above all a singular confidence in him; for on finding myself close to him as we left the church, I told him how much I had wished to kneel down as he did, and that if I had been with his sisters, I should have done so. "Why, then," he replied, "don't you do so at once; why have you so much human respect?" I was pleased with this boldness in a young man of twenty, who knew me so little. Never had I received from a man so wise a reproof. As I walked with him down the beautiful flight of steps from the Trinità del Montè I noticed his face,

and above all its expression. I hoped he would come that evening, and come he did.

The love-story which follows, though not without impediments, runs as smooth, perhaps, as the "course of true love" often has. If, in novel style, the work had ended with the wedding of the heroine, we might easily have enlarged enough upon it to fill an article of no common interest. But we have before us a narrative of real life; and in the world as it is, death rather than marriage is the real turning-point. And yet there was in this case something more than common. From the first, Albert's unbounded admiration made him more eager to see Alexandrine possessed of the faith than even to see her his own. The *Revue des deux Mondes* views this in a light highly characteristic. There is, it says, in Albert's passion something "durable and in keeping with the feelings of all generations," and something "essentially transitory," and which could not possibly have been found except at that moment. This "transitory feeling" it explains by adding, "It is impossible to say which most interested him in Alexandrine—her soul or her beauty." "He actually made, for her conversion, the pilgrimage of the seven Basilicas at break of day, barefooted and in a pilgrim's gown."*

If we would understand this (continues the *Revue*) we must recollect not only that the young man belonged to a family which had preserved the pious traditions of the past, but that we are in 1832, at a moment when the recollections of the Restoration were still in all men's minds, and when romanticism, insinuating itself into religion, had given birth to what is called neo-catholicism; when the literary taste of the Middle Ages had revived a devotion to the old legends; when the young friend of the Count of La Ferronnays, M. de Montalambert, was writing the history of S. Elizabeth of Hungary; when the Abbé Lacordaire, in his Dominican habit, was on the point of giving, by the fervour of his eloquence, a new life to all the ideas of the monastic chivalry of the past.

Men are resolved, it seems, that the emotions which spring from Christian faith are "essentially temporary," those which have their source in earthly passion "essentially permanent;" earthly love is a reality, Christian love a dream. All that comes from man is permanent, all that comes from God is but transitory.

Mrs. Craven mentions, what the *Revue des deux Mondes* passes over in silence,—that on this occasion Albert de la Ferronnays solemnly made the offering of his own life to God for the conversion of Alexandrine.

* Those who have been at Rome need not be told that this dress effectually disguises the wearer; nothing being visible except the feet and the eyes.

Her own earthly happiness she had herself offered for the knowledge of God's truth. His life was now freely offered to obtain for her the same blessing. Both offerings were accepted. Through her marriage with him she was brought within the reach of the Church's attraction; and only ten days after that marriage appeared the fatal symptoms of the deadly malady which was to cut him off in the first bloom of manhood, and to throw over her whole life a dark cloud of childless widowhood. So is God wont to deal with His most favoured servants. He breathes into them a desire for sacrifices greater than they themselves at the time clearly understand. But, if they are faithful to His call, He is wont to take them at their word, not despising, but pitying their weakness, and accompanying special trials with special graces, until in the end they find themselves, to their own astonishment, able to do and bear things of which beforehand they would have pronounced themselves utterly incapable. Such was his experience, who, after a long life of trial, had attained this confidence, "I can do all things through Christ strengthening me." The real distinction of these volumes is, that they set vividly before us one more such example in our own day. It is this which raises them far above a mere family history. They exhibit in detail a work of Almighty God as much more truly glorious than the creation of a world, as Grace is more exalted than nature. At the opening we find Alexandrine possessed of all the happiness this world can give, and inspired freely to offer it all for the knowledge of God's truth. We find her husband in the first dawn of earthly love offering his life that she might attain it. And then we pass through many scenes which show how the offering of each was accepted to the full—of him his life, of her her earthly happiness. She "passes through fire and through water," and at last we find her enjoying even in this world the abundant fulfilment of the promise, "There is no man who hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or lands for My sake and the Gospel, who shall not receive an hundred times as much now in this time." We find her, even here, in a state of habitual blessedness, exceeding, as she deliberately and repeatedly declared, all that she could have imagined possible of happiness upon earth. As soon as she has attained it, she passes out of our sight. And then, what human imagination shall presume to paint the reality, shadowed forth as far as words can shadow it, in the remaining words of the promise, "and in the world to come Life everlasting?"

But we are anticipating. As yet Alexandrine is hastening, in the first glow of youthful hope and enthusiasm, to that

glorious land, both in the natural and supernatural order "the joy of the whole earth," where she looked for nothing but enjoyment. Already, indeed, there was upon her, though she knew it not, the spell of that voluntary offering with which, when her sorrows broke upon her, she distinctly connected them. In her keenest agony on the night of her beloved husband's death, she wrote, referring to it, "Jesus, I have given Thee my happiness, give me Thy faith." But for the time, she was like the hero of the poet, when hoping for the blessings of a peaceful home, he needed to be reminded, "Remember, destiny has marked thee from mankind." Little did she imagine how soon and how roughly her heart was to be wrung with agony, how few were to be her days of unalloyed earthly blessings; how many her months, first of keen anxiety and chilling fear, afterwards of utter desolation. The narrative which supplies the foundation of these volumes was written by herself, chiefly from her own and her husband's journals. It fills three large volumes, very closely written. She has entitled them, "Our Life and Our Love." The first volume is headed "Love;" the second, "Love, Marriage;" the third, "Love, Marriage, Death." From these books we have large extracts. Nothing could be more beautiful, more graceful, more refined, more poetical, than her whole account of these early scenes. This makes it more remarkable, that Mrs. Craven should feel that, to French readers, her sister's conduct requires an apology which can be found only in the fact that she was a foreigner, and therefore not aware of, or bound by French rules of *convenance*. It is important to observe that she feels this apology to be needed, not because there was any incongruity in the social position of the parties; much less the least concealment or clandestine communication; or, again, that the lady, in the least degree, showed her affection before the gentleman had declared his—any of these things might be thought to require an apology in England. It is that, while all that passed had the full and explicit approval, both of his family and her own; while everything of position, &c. was exactly suitable; and while the passionate affection of Albert was most strongly declared and manifested by a thousand signs, she did not remain wholly indifferent to him until after their marriage. Under these circumstances the apology is well worth quoting as an illustration of national manners.

I must draw attention to the fact that Alexandrine was the daughter of a German mother and a Swedish father, and had never lived in France before her marriage. This will answer the objections likely to be raised in the minds of some French readers by some circumstances of this narrative, which

clearly show that Alexandrine was by birth and education a foreigner. They must remember that in some countries the idea of a marriage with which inclination has nothing to do is as strange as it is familiar in our own. In them it is thought as extraordinary, and I should almost say as wrong, that persons should marry without acquaintance, and therefore, of course, without love, as it is considered natural and right in France. I am not called upon to pronounce which of these two systems is the best, but only to explain that Alexandrine had been brought up in the former, and was, in consequence, used to much more independence than is allowed to young ladies in France. Her history shows clearly the disadvantages as well as the advantages of this system ; but it seems to me that, if the question could be decided by a single example, that of Albert and Alexandrine would turn the scale in favour of a marriage like their own, preceded by a pure and noble love, only rendered deeper and more tender by their union, and transformed by death into a heavenly bond, still more sacred and indissoluble than that of earth. (Vol. i. p. 68.)

Beautiful as is the love-tale before us, we omit all that we have written on it (" *spatis exclusus inquis* "), and yet we feel that our readers can but imperfectly appreciate what it is our chief object to develop,—the total change in Alexandrine which a few years wrought out, unless they have read the expressions, not only of her love, but of the ungovernable tempest of her agony when Albert lay in imminent danger at Civita Vecchia. In 1833, and again in 1834 the two families were as one, at Naples and Sorento, and the marriage took place in the latter year, on April 17th. It was followed by what she calls, looking back on them, "a few days of earthly Paradise," at Castellamare, where almost immediately the united families met again. On the tenth day the bridegroom was taken with a spitting of blood. He was sent, in search of health, to Sorento ; and this was but the first of a series of changes of residence with the same object, which ended only with his life.

Alexandrine still contrived to persuade herself that she had no serious fear. In looking back on this period, she wrote afterwards to M. de Montalembert :—

. . . Yes, certainly our happiness was very delicious ! I could have dreamed of none so great, and it must have struck others more than ourselves who did not know how rare it is upon this earth. His health alone prevented my feeling perfectly happy ; but I was always expecting happiness, and with what certainty ! . . . I was so sure that he would recover ! I think that pitying angels must have drawn a veil before my eyes, for it was not natural with my character and my continual anxieties about him. . . .

But man is made up of inconsistencies, and she had evidently more of fear than she dared to confess to herself. She writes—

As we were lodging near a church, funerals passed pretty often under our windows, and in Italy the body is exposed, and a flower placed between the

lips. I had seen more than one go by without any feeling of dread. But, now that Albert was ill, though I still went to look at every funeral that passed, it was with quite a different feeling—a vague, terrible sensation, which I dared not define to myself, and I remember I felt a superstitious satisfaction when the body borne by was that of a woman, an old man, or a child. I was afraid of seeing a young man carried by.

But they were not to stay long there. Patients are sent from one Italian town to another as they are sent from England to Italy. Alas!—*Scandit cœratas naves*—go where he would, the fatal malady was slowly, but too surely, consuming the vitals of Albert. The winter of 1834-5 he spent at Pisa. It was marked by the unexpected pleasure of a two months' visit from the Count of Montalembert, the dearest and most intimate friend of Albert, and from this time of Alexandrine, by whom, a little to his surprise, he was at once received as a brother. From this time he appears in her journals and letters as “Montal.”

Journal, Dec. 26th.—I have told Eugénie of Albert's communion. One thing I did not mention—perhaps I did not like to mention—it is that that Communion plunged me into tears. I was myself taken by surprise at the grief I felt in seeing him on his knees before the Altar. Was this grief caused by my not being united to him at such a moment? Was it a presentiment of the truth, to which I would not yet surrender my will? I believe both feelings entered into it.

Mrs. Craven remarks that this last sentence, like many other things, was, of course, added to the Pisa journal when it was copied into the “narrative” after Albert's death. When she was at Pisa in 1841, five years after her widowhood, she added—

A few days ago, in the same chapel I myself had the same happiness that Albert had that day; more closely united to him than on the first occasion, though he was now no more. I did not again shed tears as I had then; the feeling with which my heart was filled was one of thankfulness to God, who had permitted me to communicate there, in that same spot.

She writes to Eugénie—

Besides my study of Dante, Montalembert is reading us legends; just now some delicious ones about S. Francis of Assisi, a Saint of singular sweetness, who addressed all creatures as brothers and sisters. He said *fratre lupo*. With this wolf he had a long talk. He called the turtle-doves “my sisters.” Montal is also writing the life of S. Elizabeth, a German queen. He has travelled much in Germany for her sake. How he loves this Saint Elizabeth. He has collected the smallest, the most minute details on this subject. He told us the history of a knight who always wore the colours of a sainted lady, who had appeared to him in a vision. So pretty. There is more of the

story, but I have no room to tell it in a letter. Tell me what you think of the life we are leading. For my part, I like it much. Besides all this, we subscribe to the circulating library at Leghorn, and our tables are covered with reviews, newspapers (those for Montal), Walter Scott's novels for Albert, and other books of all kinds for him and me. Albert is beginning German, but he does not throw into it your laudable enthusiasm. I am sure you will soon know it.

Tuesday, January 13th, 1835.—We went to the *cascine*, and then we went all together to order a bonnet for me, and very merry we were over it. At dinner Albert suddenly resolved to go to a ball given that night, but which we had all three refused. I resisted, fearing it would hurt him; but he insisted, and ended by saying, "I will." He went and told my maid to prepare my things, and by degrees I suffered him to persuade me to make myself look as well as possible. I was full two hours about it. To complete the fun, we obliged Montal to go with us. We had to beg very hard, for he had nothing to go in. Albert lent him almost everything. Then we were obliged to get him a shoemaker, and a barber to cut his hair. All this made us very merry; but what made us laugh more than all the rest was that, as we had no man servant just then, we made the shoemaker's boy walk behind us to the ball.

This playful introduction of no less a man than Montalembert is highly amusing to French readers and critics. Albert wrote next day—

My little Alex was charming in her handsome blue dress and her diamonds.

Alexandrine to Eugénie:—

He is gone, our dear Montalembert; we could make him stay no longer. We sat up with him till half-past two; and then he started. He shed tears on leaving us; so much does he regret the loving family life, as he called it, that we live, and to which he had got so much accustomed with us. He is our friend for life; which is very pleasant. Tell Pauline I have received her letter, and will answer it. But we are still without a servant; and now that we have not even Montalembert for a multitude of small services which he did for us with so much kindness and good humour (such as going out to post our letters, to buy us chesnuts, &c. &c.), we are in difficulties. Our little maid does not like to go to the post at night; and besides, I am afraid she will make blunders between the letters she is to prepay and those she is not; so that this dearth of servants even prevents my writing.

At Pisa Alexandrine heard with astonishment of a young English lady who had become a Catholic, and said that she seemed to be in Paradise. "I was so earthly," she writes, "that I thought it must require a great deal of imagination to be able thus to place one's happiness in things invisible. I could not understand it, and was equally astonished when Albert said to me, 'Oh, if you knew the happiness of receiving

absolution.' But he spoke with such a look that it is still graven on my very soul." A few days later she went with Albert to the Franciscan House at Santa Croce. While waiting for him, a lay brother, Fra Clementino, brought her a cup of coffee, which she swallowed with "a mixture of gratitude and disgust." Meanwhile the good brother exhorted her to become a Catholic, promising if she did, to give her a chaplet of beads from Jerusalem. "Five years later," writes Alexandrine, "I walked alone and in widow's mourning to the same convent. As I came up to it, I met a brother with a wallet on his back. I asked if Father Luigi (Albert's confessor) was in the house; he was absent. Then I asked if Fra Clementino was there? It was himself. He remembered me, and said he had as much joy in seeing me as if he had seen his mother rise from the dead. He hastened to look for the Jerusalem chaplet, and gave it me, as he had promised. He too had wept for Albert; and when he spoke of him to me, he wept anew for pity and tenderness. And yet a sweet joy was the chief feeling of our meeting; for our adorable faith gives consolation for everything, and destroys nothing but sin." Such, as Mrs. Craven remarks, had already been the change in her, who only five years before had been unable to imagine how it was possible to place one's pleasure in things invisible!

The spring of 1835 was advancing, and Albert went with his wife on a visit to her mother, at the magnificent château of her second husband in Southern Russia. He seemed restored by the journey, and they were both once more in a dream of Paradise. But it lasted, as before, only ten delicious days. The spitting of blood returned. She was alone with him when he was seized with so much violence that she expected him to die in her arms, and for some time could not leave him even to call aid. While he was slowly and doubtfully recovering from this dreadful attack, she wrote:—

I had risen very early; I came out of his room into my own, in a state of silent agony as to my future. I did not dare look it in the face. I looked round me; my beautiful room seemed no longer rose-colour. I sat down at my window, and the hues of the morning no longer smiled on me. Suddenly the idea struck me of opening the Gospel, and looking what was to be my lot. I opened my New Testament, and read, "Honour widows, who are widows indeed." It was as if I had seen a ghost. I almost screamed. Never till then had I distinctly formed in my thoughts that terrible word, *widow*. (Vol. i. p. 304.)

September 1st.—They began their long journey by land towards Italy, through Poland and Vienna. There Alex-

andrine, for the last time in her life, put on an evening dress. They established themselves at Venice, where it had been settled (we know not why) that they were to winter. At first Alexandrine writes to her sisters in her old playful style. She has turned into a cook, a sick-nurse, a farm-woman ; she has *diselegantized* and *desuaved* herself, and it is alarming how much she finds herself made for such a life. "Nothing is left of the poetical Alexandrine. She is surrounded with stores of oil, potatoes, rice, candles, &c., and knows, I assure you, the cost of it all, down to the price of an egg." But by little and little the cloud gathers darker and darker. Early in her stay at Venice she expresses her panting thirst for rest :—

If in the grave there is a consciousness of sleeping, and of awaiting the judgment of God, if no great crimes cause you to fear Him, this repose, mingled with vague ideas, but no longer with the perplexing ideas of earth, this sensation of having accomplished your destiny, is perhaps preferable to all that earth can offer ; for however delightful it may be, everything here is always full of all sorts of disquiet and shame,—an insupportable mixture. I express myself ill ; but the explanation of the language is, that I thirst for rest ; and that if age, or even death, give it me, I shall bless them. If what I have said seems to you sad, pay no attention to it. I have a headache, but I am happy in spite of these ideas. (Vol. i. 335.)

On the margin of this passage, opposite to the words "I thirst for rest ; and if age or death give it me, I shall bless them," she has added, on going over it seven years later :—"Without waiting for age or death, rest has been given me by Faith."

But the storm comes first. She is slowly losing hope. They have been joined by Albert's favourite brother Fernand. On the night of Sunday, March 6th, she had a sudden alarm, and Fernand ran for the doctor. "I was anxiously watching my Albert, waiting the return of Fernand. He returns. I see his lips quite pale. He spoke to me with an effort, and said we must send for a confessor. 'Have we come to that?' I said, 'have we really come to that?' and then, almost at the same moment, I added :—'Now I AM A CATHOLIC.' With these words, self-possession, if not happiness, came back to my soul. I asked, with a sort of impatience, what was the name of this horrible malady ?" 'Pulmonary consumption,' replied Fernand. Then I felt all hope leave me. All this was in the next room. We were obliged to return into his. Fernand opened the shutters. I looked out upon the morning ; the palaces were gilded as at other times. But I could no longer understand

anything. I watched the light fall upon Albert's face, and felt myself in a sort of stupor, but only internally, for many days past I had practised myself in hiding my fears. And that beloved Albert, gazing upon the new day, but not knowing how momentous it was, said in a sad, sweet manner, 'Oh, would they were all here! I fear I shall never see them again,' and then, 'Oh, France! France! would I might go there, and then lay down my head.'"

The same day Fernand started, on horseback, for France, to bring Albert's parents and sister. Alexandrine waited, fearing that they would not arrive in time. The resolution she had formed never wavered. She wrote to Pauline upon her future. Perhaps she might one day gain courage to become a *sœur grise* in France. It seemed at first as if she was converted by her affections. She neither could nor would believe except as he believed. This is the view which it of course delights the *Revue des deux Mondes* to take. Still she says, "from the moment when I had said *Now I am a Catholic*, never, even for a moment, did the thought so much as cross my mind that it was possible any other religion should be true. March 14th I entered in my journal these words, *Moment of inspiration*. I so marked that day because I was writing to my mother for the first time since Albert's danger, and desired to tell her all. Before beginning my letter, therefore, I knelt down, and asked those of my Catholic ancestors who were in Heaven to help me." And then she wrote a persuasive, affectionate, earnest letter, too long to insert here. The La Ferronnays arrived March 23rd, but letters were still written, for Pauline was at a distance, and Eugénie kept her informed. To this we owe our full accounts of all that passed. "Alexandrine," writes Eugénie, "is so Catholic—she has a thirst for our religion. In her letter to-day to M. de Montalembert is this strong expression, 'I shall be more happy as a widow and a Catholic than as still the wife of Albert, and still a Protestant.' What do you say to these words, Pauline? They seem to me the utmost that it was possible to say." And now the great desire of all was that he might live long enough to return to France. His medical attendant told his father that his being still alive was a miracle, and therefore he could not say that his recovery was impossible, as it needed nothing more than another miracle. We have an account of the journey to France in letters written day by day to Pauline. On May 11th they reached Paris. Almost the first thought was Alexandrine's reception into the Church. As soon as the ceremony was over, she writes:—

I threw myself into the arms of my Albert, and then embraced in turn each of our beloved family. The Abbé Martin then came up to me, and said, "Madame, you have now brethren through the whole world ;" and I felt myself as it were in a new life—happy ! happy ! How greatly I was astonished, and how much I feared that I had been by the side of my Albert, too joyous and too gay all the rest of the day.

She had determined to have for her confessor the Abbé Gerbet (who died two years ago Bishop of Perpignan), whom she had never seen, but had read, at Venice, an article by him. For her first communion it was settled that Albert should go to church with her. Afterwards Eugénie writes :—

The Archbishop has given permission that mass should be said at midnight on Sunday in Albert's room ; that he may communicate at it fasting. Otherwise, in order to communicate at the same mass at which Alexandrine is to make her first communion, he must have received by way of viaticum (as he cannot remain fasting till morning) which would have been too mournful for such an occasion. But can you imagine such a mixture of the sweet, the solemn, and the mournful ? At midnight, in his room, an altar dressed up, flowers, lights ; Alexandrine, her first communion ; Albert, perhaps his last.

On Saturday evening Alexandrine entered in her journal some thoughts of triumphant thanksgiving that "love is stronger than death."

In bidding Albert farewell to go to my confession, I asked of him pardon for all I had done against him. With how much tenderness and humility did he answer me.

Towards evening the doctor came. I was putting on my dress for my first communion. I charged Eugénie to follow him on the staircase, and ask whether Albert's state was such that he might die that very night. He replied that it was. But I no longer felt anything in the usual way. I felt myself exalted—as if beyond this world. Eugénie the same. I therefore dressed myself wholly in white muslin ; and on my head, what veil ?—my wedding veil !

Another (i. e. the Abbé Gerbet) has described that evening, that night ; but what follows he has not said.

Albert was in bed ; he had been unable to sit up. I knelt close to him. I took his hand, and thus did the Abbé Gerbet's mass begin. I knew not where I was, or what was happening to me, when, as the mass proceeded, Albert made me quit his hand, that hand which I regarded as so sacred, that in the holiest moment of my life I did not think myself wanting to God in holding it. Albert made me quit it, saying, "Go, go. Be wholly God's."

The Abbé Gerbet addressed some words to me before giving me communion, then he gave it to Albert. Afterwards I again took his beloved hand. I expected to see him die that very night.

Mrs. Craven adds :—

It was not so. God permitted that some days more should be left to Albert to enjoy the last and supreme joy of their union.

Next day Alexandrine wrote in her journal :—

I was at the High Mass at S. Sulpice. It was the Feast of Corpus Christi. Everything there was charming. The hymns, the thuribles, the flowers scattered. Eugénie told me to look about me. But I kept my head down, I felt again that lively contrition and sorrow for my sins which I had yesterday evening. In the same church, before my abjuration, I have often heartily made this prayer, "Oh, for one moment of faith, of hope, and of love, and them to die there." For then I had not yet the faith, but had the will to have it. (Vol. i p. 407.)

Sunday, June 26th.—During the last mass, if ever I looked towards him, he made me a sign to look at the altar. The window was open, but the night was dark. At the communion, M. Martin de Noirlieu, who said this mass, came towards Albert (accompanied by his father, who acted as server). He placed upon his lips one half of the sacred Host, and gave the other to me myself. I felt the sweetness of this, which I remarked even at that solemn moment. The Abbé Martin divided the Host, because Albert could not, without suffering, open his mouth. Even thus he had pain in swallowing it. It was necessary to give him some water, and this little incident disturbed him. But the Abbé Gerbet, who was also present, reassured him. Then Albert exclaimed, "My God, Thy will be done!"

Oh, my God! that was a thanksgiving which must have been acceptable to Thee.

The altar was covered with blue moire and with flowers. It had been arranged by Eugénie. That blue moire was one of the dresses of my *trousseau*, which had never been made up. This was the use to which it was put.

On Monday, 27th, he received extreme unction. The same day Alexandrine wrote to the Abbé Gerbet :—

I should regard it as a great grace from God if you are able to come. However, I am calm. Continue your prayers for me. I no longer pray. I only think upon God, and entreat Him to remember that I asked of Him the Faith instead of happiness.

(*Journal.*) June 28th.—This evening I called Albert's attention to the rising moon. It looked terrible, and this was just what I felt at Rome when he was dying at Civitâ Vecchia.

The window was almost always open towards the beautiful trees of the Luxembourg, and the perfume of honeysuckle, &c., which came in through it was sometimes almost too strong.

Afterwards Montal came and brought me Albert's old letters to him, for which I had asked. It was a dagger into my heart. But I at once set myself to read the words which rent me by their sweetness!

The Abbé Martin gave him absolution and plenary indulgence for the night. I was on my knees by his bed. After that, I said to him, "Oh, kiss me!" He lifted up his head—so feeble!—put out his lips, and kissed me. Then I asked leave to kiss his eyes. He shut them in token of consent.

Later still. Unable any longer to endure our not pouring out our hearts to each other, and longing to make the most of the last minutes that still remained to me, I said to him, "Oh, Albert, Montal has brought me your letters. They are so ravishing to me!" He stopped me, saying, "Enough, enough; do not agitate me." "Oh, Albert, I adore you!" Such was the cry of my heart, torn by not being able to talk to him. For fear of disquieting him I was compelled to be silent; but my mouth closed upon the last word of love that it had pronounced, and he heard it, as he had always hoped, while dying

I wished to sit up; but I was no longer myself. Whether from grief or sleep I know not, but my head wandered to such a degree that I thought I was speaking to Fernand in the embrasure of a window, when he was not there. I was afraid I was going out of my mind; and Eugénie forced me to throw myself on my bed. It was always to her more than any one else that I trusted to wake me at the proper time. Already, once or twice, on waking up, I had had a frightful panic, thinking that it was come, that terrible moment at which, at all costs, I desired to be present.

That night (between June 28 and 29) I saw Eugénie by my bedside. A shock came over me. She calmed me. Albert had said, "Where is Alex?" "Do you wish for her?" asked Eugénie. "I should think so," he said. And then he became delirious. I was, myself, again wandering in my mind. I passed twice by Albert's bed, and went into the next room, without knowing what I was doing.

Eugénie drew near, holding pressed against her breast a crucifix indulged for the hour of death, lent her by the Abbé Dupanloup. Her appearance was like that of a sweet angel of death, for that crucifix was the sign that the last moments had come. Albert perceived it, seized it himself, and kissed it with transport, exclaiming, "Thanks, my God." Then he became calm.

He was moved and placed with his face opposite the rising sun. He had fallen asleep with his beloved head resting upon my left arm. I was standing. I was afraid I should slip. The sister insisted upon taking my place; but Eugénie stopped her, and told her that it was all right; and that I was happy as I was. He awoke, and had recovered his natural voice, and talked to Fernand in a very natural manner.

At six o'clock I saw, I understood, that the moment was come. I felt such strength come over me that nothing could have torn me from my place by his side. My sister Eugénie came close to me. (He had been placed in an arm-chair close to the open window.) His father was kneeling on the other side; his poor mother standing bending over his head; the Abbé Martin at her side.

Oh, my God; no words were spoken except those of his father,—words full of blessing, sublime accompaniment to the agony of a son. "Thou who hast never given me a sorrow—best of children—blessings on thee. Thou

art gazing upon thine Alexandrine" (his eyes, already fixed, were turned upon me). "Thou blessest her also."

The sister said the Litany of the dying.

And I, his wife ! I felt what I could never have imagined ; I felt that death was happiness ! And I said within 'myself, *Now, O Jesus, Paradise for him.*

The Abbé Martin began the words of the last absolution ; and, before they were finished, the soul of Albert took its flight !

Alexandrine's History is finished. At least we have reached the end of the period which she so called. From this day, it was not she who cared to preserve a record of the remaining events of her life. (Vol. i. p. 423.)

The same night she wrote :—

Albert ! Albert ! tenderly beloved one. Thou art with me no more. Beloved one, brother, husband, confidant ! I must live without thee. Oh ! God be praised, at least, that I feel thy loss irreparable. Beloved one ! now I feel how tenderly I loved thee ; I have always loved thee. I feel that to me there has been upon earth only thyself.

Jesus, I have given Thee my happiness : give me Thy faith. (Vol. i. p. 425.)

She continued to write only for some days after Albert's death. Eight days later she wrote :—

My God, put not asunder what Thou Thyself hast joined. Remember, my God, my Father, and forgive my boldness—remember that we have always remembered Thee. Remember that not so much as a line of love has been written between us, in which Thy name has not been spoken and Thy blessing invoked. Remember that we have often prayed to Thee together. Remember that our desire has always been that our love should be eternal !

And now Alexandrine was left alone, a widow and childless ; separated by a whole continent from her mother, her brothers, her native land ; and in a country which she never saw till she brought to it her one earthly object of love—to die. His dying request and her own change of religion determined her to remain a Frenchwoman ; but in France all she had were his sisters, brothers, and parents. In the twelve remaining years of her life she lost her father-in-law, her sisters Eugénie and Olga. Pauline was kept generally at a great distance by her duty to her husband, and the only remaining sister was a child. It was a dreary lot. But Mrs. Craven says, Albert's death—

Divided the life of Alexandrine into two portions—one occupied by incidents the most various, and emotions the most different ; the other by God alone, sought and found in the perfect acceptance of the sacrifice—an acceptance which became so entire and so sweet, that of her short and crowded life, it is to this second portion, and not to the first, that the term

happiness can be applied. Happiness, serene and immortal, she found in truth in that abyss in which she seemed to herself to have seen it for ever swallowed up.

But this was not yet. She passed through three different states. In the beginning there was a wonderful courage, which supported her through her agony. At the end, there was a state of love and joy, in which she found a happiness, the existence of which, in this world, she could never have believed : but between these two states was one in which nature claimed its own, and in which her sufferings were indeed terrible. She did not immediately cease to write ; she felt it a relief, and we have passages of her journal as beautiful as any, which she wrote leaning against Albert's coffin. Hiding herself in the church of S. Sulpice, she attended his obsequies. July 7th, the family went to Boury, in Normandy, a country-house which was to have been Albert's home, and which it had been his great desire to reach before he died. Thence Eugénie wrote to Pauline :—

Alexandrine is in a state to break one's heart. Her manner is calm and resigned, but no one else sees her as I do. Before me she lets all her misery be seen. She is fearfully changed. Her only wish is to die. The only person able to calm her is the Abbé Gerbet. I wish he could always be with her. Poor beloved one. She never murmurs, never asks of God. "Why this misery !" I hope, therefore, that this extreme grief is not displeasing to God. And therefore, since it is a consolation to her to indulge it, I do not agree with those who would wish to divert it—to divert it as they understand the word, because they cannot resign themselves to see her sad for the rest of her life. For my part, I think that if only her grief remains quite Christian, and not like that of "those who have no hope," she may be allowed a sadness which will, more and more, become her nature. Pauline, her life can never more be other than miserable. (Vol. ii. p. 16.)

Alexandrine's journals speak of her having no pleasure in any view except that of the sky ; she wonders whether she will ever again have pleasure from beautiful scenery. She repeatedly mentions her desire to sleep, in the hope of dreaming of him, but says she never does (do people often dream, except in novels, of the thing most in their waking thoughts ?) Her thoughts are full of heaven and of God ; but it is God through Albert. It is Albert and God—not God and Albert. She writes to Pauline :—

I am frozen and petrified ; I have no activity for good. Even in religious objects, I have lost the keen interest I used to feel before his death. He has taken my heart away with him. Towards others,—and I sometimes think even towards my own misery, I feel a barbarous insensibility. I eat, I sleep,

I breathe the air, and, above all, I still listen to music, with a pleasure which tears me, and at the same time charms me. I love to hear the airs he used to listen to, and then nothing so much as music makes me believe in heaven and in happiness to come. Oh ! miserable me ! We should have been so happy. I have now difficulty in saying to myself, "he is happy." My earthly nature, always so strong, cannot form to itself the idea that the joys of Heaven are worth more than those of earth. For I have recollections of happiness which it seems to me impossible that anything should exceed.

I believe my desire is sincere to follow Albert, it matters not through what places, it matters not through what sufferings, so that only I arrive where he is, and see him happy. Alas ! I so much forget God for him, that I know not what God will do with me. Perhaps He will make me live long, to recover that zeal for Him which I once had. Oh ! I am sometimes tempted to say that He has wholly abandoned me. He has let me fall heavily from a height from which I saw the heavens, and now I am in a pit, absolutely dark. The first days of his death were so good in comparison. The first evening (he had spoken that morning) the sky, with its stars, and the moon, seemed to me smiling, happy ! I felt the happiness of Albert, and I certainly did not suffer more than when he was absent on earth. One of those days at S. Sulpice, the sound of the organ and the sight of the blue sky through the windows, gave me an ecstasy of happiness to come, and made me shed delicious tears. Now—what darkness ! Only think, I am not even able to dream of him ! God then loves your father more than me. But your father did not love Albert more than I love him. To him, he was not everything as he is to me. Will you send me back all Albert's letters that you have ? You must also let me have back my own, that I may read over again the exact picture of our happiness ; first, because I am more interested in that than in anything else ; and, next, because I am writing our history. (Vol. ii. p. 25.)

Yet she writes in her journal :—

My God, remember that I have always asked to share no other happiness than that which comes from Thee. All happiness which comes from any other than a heavenly source terrifies me Oh, if I could begin anew our sweet life together, with the knowledge of the day on which it was to end. And yet, miserable that we are, the past may well teach us a lesson ; above all, that of not failing towards the living, who may any day be taken from us. We are always falling back into our thoughtlessness, and always wounding others, without remembering that these wounds may easily turn against ourselves with double force, tearing us, perhaps, far more than we have torn them. Jesus, pardon me ; Albert, pardon me ; and may I be with you both, with one and with the other.

Our space compels us to pass rapidly over the years which followed the death of Albert. The despair of his widow made her the object, not merely of compassion but of anxiety. Eugénie writes :—" Oh ! how miserable a life will hers be. She is changed—wasted. That long black dress hanging straight down, her fine figure bent, her attitude so neglected,

her expression of total indifference, which gives her the expression of one who looks for nothing. What misery it is to see her." She lived with his family at Boury. Her life was for some years without event and without change. But nothing could be more beautiful than the manner in which Mrs. Craven exhibits and traces the gradual change wrought in her by Divine grace, and, so far as she was concerned, merely by a simple discharge of very ordinary duties,—the chapel in the house, the charities of the family, and the village. She leaves home rarely, and that only on some call of charity; and there is a delicious letter, written on the second anniversary of her husband's death (from Ischl, in Austria, where she went to be with her mother). She relates in detail how she had been able to soothe the last hours of a young priest, dying, like her own husband, of consumption. At this time she owed very much to the skill of a great master of consolation, the Abbé Gerbet, who spent much time at Boury, and some of whose letters to her are given us. Her husband's body was removed thither from Paris, and laid in a grave in which space was left for her own. Her chief pleasure was to visit and adorn it. Over the double grave she erected a cross, with the inscription, *Quod Deus conjunxit, homo non separat.* On returning to Boury she writes :—

I have been to the burial-ground. It seems as natural to be there as if I had seen it only the day before. I feel so much in my element, that the only thing that surprises me is to leave it, not to come back. Everything here is so familiar, so thoroughly "home." *

But by degrees the reader is made sensible of a change. As Mrs. Craven says, she is not less devoted to the memory of her husband; but whereas it had been "Albert and God," it becomes "God and Albert." For some time, after exerting herself for others, she was liable to what Eugénie calls, "terrific accesses of despair." Gradually this is spoken of as a thing gone by.

In 1839-40 the family revisited Italy, and the now increasing change is marked by what she writes in the scenes of her short earthly happiness. We have already quoted some of the additions made at this time to her old journals. She now says :—

It is with double pleasure that I pray here in these churches at Naples, where I once lived only for human love,—in this Naples, where I once believed that I had all in having Albert,—in this Naples, where I no more find Albert,

* She uses the English term, "*tout est si home.*"

where I shall never see him more, and where I have nothing left but God—nothing but God ! As our human vileness so often makes us feel, as if those who have God had not enough.

The window looks upon the garden of the Palazzo Acton, where I was married, and beyond that I see le Vomero. Oh, with what surprise did I look upon all that the morning after my arrival. I love to look upon it all again in this way ; and I trust that it is the bounty of God, the sweetness and happiness of my absent angel, and not my own indifference, that makes these recollections so sweet to me

You ask me how I shall be myself here after Rome. Oh yes, Rome no doubt has quite another atmosphere, exactly that which breathes life into hearts that have suffered, because there, in that Holy City, all speaks of God ; while here all speaks of earthly happiness. And so when that is gone, it might be painful to live here, for there is no theatre comparable to this for scenes of earthly love. But alas ! how has the scythe of death cut down all that society since our time. (Vol. ii. p. 250.)

But Italy was in her eyes as dear and as beautiful as ever, although its beauty was now less of earth. She writes :—

And now, after so many sorrows, my passion for this land is the same, or rather it is stronger, for now I know why I love it ; I know the source from whence this delicious fragrance flows over Italy.

Oh yes, I do love, and I shall ever love, this land, whose people believe in an eternal father-land, in invisible friends to whom they speak in their joys and in their sorrows,—this land, whose every town sees its God really present, and continually exposed to the eyes of a worshipping crowd ! I love this land, which has tasted every glory, and has referred them all to God,—this land, whose inhabitants have attained in perfection every kind of beauty, and yet are less subject than others to ambition and to madness. I love this land, whose sons and whose flowers shed a fragrance sweeter than any anywhere else,—this land which gave birth to S. Francis of Assisi, and the other sweet S. Francis, and to so many other saints with hearts of fire,—this land, in which every festival is religious, in which one meets on one's road the habit worn by S. Benedict, S. Dominic, S. Francis, S. Ignatius, and so many others, whose names are written with theirs in the book of life,—this land, in which so many humble and hidden lives, both in the village and in the cloister, are closed by a holy death. Oh ! I do love this land, in which the wheat and the vine seem to hasten their growth, that they may serve in the most sacred of mysteries,—this land, so sweet to the soul, so enchanting to the eyes, that it seems hardly possible, even at the point of death, to say, “I am going to see something far better than Italy.”

The year 1842 brought many fresh afflictions. The death of M. de la Ferronnays, of her own brother, and of Eugénie ; and Olga immediately after followed. But these new trials were not sent till she had been prepared for them :—

Her whole life now seemed translated into a higher region. She still thought continually of Albert, and still loved him as intensely as ever, but in one sense she may be said to have ceased to mourn for him. For it seemed as if there had flashed upon her soul an overwhelming light, the immense reality of the happiness reserved for those who weep.

She one day found Pauline in floods of tears, when Olga was dying under her roof, and said, with an expression of something beyond courage, almost of joy—"Are you weeping because our Olga is going to Heaven? Would you really call her back, now that she is so nearly out of this world? Tell me, then, what happiness can you assure to her on earth?"

She was at this time permitted by her Director, Father Ravignan (the Abbé Gerbet had for several years been absent from France), to try whether she had a religious vocation. She herself spoke of this as "her best cross." The result confirmed his opinion that she had not. "For months before," Pauline writes, "her mind had been in an agony between unwillingness and doubt whether she was not called by God." This doubt was now set at rest. "She came back joyfully, for the restlessness she had felt for some time was now entirely calmed;" and she wrote, "I am returning to our most beloved mother, to resume, or rather to learn the sweet character of Ruth."

This was the last perturbation of mind she was ever to know; for the time had now come when the poor pilgrim, whose passage through the valley of the shadow of death had been so dark and terrible, and who so long had climbed with weary feet the Hill of Difficulty, had gained, by imperceptible degrees, the "Delectable Mountains," from which were continually before her eyes the "Heavenly City" and the "Shining Ones" who walk in its light. The words of the poet do but soberly express the literal truth of the recompence with which she was already repaid.

"Thy reward is now divine,
A foretaste of eternal pleasure."

Henceforth her life was marked by two characteristics,—the love of poverty and of the poor; and an unintermitting, overflowing, never-failing joy. This joy, as she herself declared, was far beyond anything that she could have conceived possible on earth; and thus was fulfilled to the letter the promise of Him to whom in the earliest dawn of life she had offered her whole earthly happiness, and by whom the offering had been accepted; when He said that whatever was given up for

Him should be repaid an hundred-fold "now in this time." As to her love of the poor, to them Mrs. Craven says, she "gave everything she had in this world,—her thoughts, her time, her money, her health, and at last her life." She spent much of her time in Paris, as the guest of Madame de Mun, the mother-in-law of Eugénie, who had been grievously afflicted, just before the marriage, by the death of her only daughter, and had found another daughter, only to lose her after three short years. Here, again, Alexandrine took the part of a comforter, and at the same time had greater opportunities of labouring among the poor. There was one family which she loved to visit; chiefly, she said, that she might "learn from them a lesson of content—learn never more to complain. The husband was a painter, maimed for life by a fall from a scaffold. By his side lay his wife, dying of consumption, and their only child, ten or twelve years of age, was unable to help them, being not only sick, but an idiot." She was "on the landing-place coming out from this miserable dwelling, when her ears were suddenly filled with the strains of music. It was only a regimental band passing in the street; but the music harmonized with her interior happiness, and she was seized with such joy, that she told me," says Pauline, "she had never felt anything like it in the happiest days of her life."

Her once elegant apartment had before this been stripped of everything like ornament, the value of which had gone to the poor, and it was a bare-looking room about which Pauline one day watched her hastening "with activity, and a face radiant with smiles."

Both our minds (she says) were struck at the same moment with the recollection of those terrible days when her grief was so black; and she referred to it in words which cannot but excite wonder in any one who knew what, to the very last, was the unalterable depth of her love. "Oh, yes, it is true; those were indeed cruel and terrible days; but now, by the grace of God, I weep for my Albert gaily!"

In the summer of 1845 she spent a few weeks with Pauline, whose husband was then stationed at Baden. Short as was her stay, her time was occupied by the poor, and her room stripped as bare as possible. Her only reading now was in books in which God held the chief, not to say the only, place; except now and then a little of the poetry which she had read or translated with Albert. As to merely literary works, novels, memoirs, histories, which were the subject of conversation around her, and in which she had formerly delighted,

her pleasure in them was gone. She no longer cared to listen to them. Her taste for the ornaments of the intellect had vanished with her taste for all the ornaments and amusements of the world. Music was the only exception.

A beautiful summer evening was closing in, and they were standing together on a balcony before the Hôtel d'Angleterre. It looked down upon a busy crowded scene of gaiety and amusement. A band was performing a waltz, and performing it admirably; and the whole was thronged with groups enjoying the pleasure of delicious weather in the open air, of society, mirth, and music.

"A few years before Alexandrine would have shunned such a sight, from fear of the regret which the contrast of her own lot might produce, and also because (from distrust of herself) she was afraid of being drawn into any worldly pleasures." Pauline could not help remembering how she had expressed this in a letter to Eugénie when she was in England enjoying the pleasures of society.

Thank you (she said) for thinking of us [Albert and herself] in the midst of the music and flowers with which you were surrounded. What pain they would have given me. You see, it is to spare myself that I shun the quieties which would remind me of the pleasures of that life of love which for me is gone by for ever.

Remembering expressions like this, Pauline now asked her what effect was produced upon her mind by looking on from a distance upon this scene of mirth and pleasure, which vividly recalled to herself days long gone by.

She replied with a smile, that she now never thought of those days; and then went on gazing, now at the promenade, now at the starry sky, with an expression which she sometimes wore, and which made her beautiful indeed. While I write I can see her as she then looked; for that moment was one of those difficult to describe, but impossible to forget. For a moment she remained gazing thus, and then drawing from her pocket a little book in which she was accustomed to copy passages which struck her, "Look here," she said, "this alone is truly beautiful, interesting, and important;" and then she read me these words in Latin (I think from S. Augustine) *O amare! O ire! O sibi perire! O ad Deum pervenire!* I shall never forget the tone of voice with which she read these words, nor the hour, the place, the day when I heard them. O how impossible it is to communicate the impression to others.

In the days of sorrow which we had lately passed through together, Alexandrine never had a single access of grief such as she had formerly found it so difficult to master. Consolation she needed from no one. She was herself the tranquil consoler of others; so that, as M. de Montalembert well

expressed it, "she had now mounted above the reach of grief." How often in those times has a word from her restored courage to me,—a word often spoken with tears, but a word of calming serenity and contagious strength.

We must venture to conclude with one or two rather long extracts, because nothing else will give an idea either of the state to which Alexandrine had now arrived, or of Mrs. Craven's extraordinary powers of observation and description. The first describes Alexandrine's life in Paris in the winter of 1847. She had then resumed all her occupations

With an ardour beyond her strength, and a liberality beyond her means. She was daily curtailing more and more the small portion of her income, which, after a rigorous calculation, she had reserved to herself, and before long she came hardly to possess necessaries. I one day chanced to open her wardrobe, and was literally alarmed at its emptiness. At such discoveries she would smile, and would make excuses in answer to any questions or expostulations ; but she went on in the same way depriving herself of everything, and daily managed to do with something less than on the day before. Her remaining jewels, I need hardly say, had long ago been given away or sold ; but as soon as she lighted upon anything belonging to her which was of the least value, she hastened to get rid of it, to swell the treasury of the poor. One day she took a small gold and enamel case from a beautiful miniature of the Princess Lapoukhin at the age of twenty, and when its disappearance was noticed, explained, with some confusion, that this ornament (the last of any value which she had retained) added no value in her eyes to the charming portrait of her mother. At last, at the time of which I am now speaking, it may be said that she no longer possessed anything. Her whole wardrobe consisted of two black gowns, and some linen, barely enough ; so that she really was as near absolute poverty as was possible in her state of life.

It was generally on foot that she made the long expeditions from which she returned about dinner-time, often wet through with rain, and covered with mud. One day she was in a distant quarter of Paris, in a House of Sisters of Charity, in which (as in every other) she had friends, when one of the sisters, after inspecting her from head to foot, said that she had a most urgent request to make of her on behalf of a poor woman who was in pressing want of a pair of shoes. Alexandrine instantly opened her purse and gave the necessary money. The sister disappeared, but returned in a quarter of an hour with a smiling countenance, bringing a pair of shoes, of which the charitable Alexandrine had, that day, very pressing need, and which the sister compelled her to put on on the spot.

From these long expeditions she would return, then change her morning for her evening dress, and immediately go to the *salon* of Madame de Mun, where was my mother, who had often spent the morning in the same way.

Before long I came in my turn, for that winter I often took my place in the circle already so many times narrowed, and so soon to be totally broken

up. Let me paus for a moment and once more look at that *salon* and those whom it contained. That long table, by which Madame de Mun and my mother were working, while Eugénie's children were playing by them, and that other place, just by the lamp, occupied every evening by Alexandrine. I see her now, with her head stooping over her work, her brown hair parted in two thick tresses, a head-dress which suited her better than any other, but with which no one will suspect that vanity had anything to do.

There then she sat, next to the lamp, often really beautiful in her simple black dress, always calm, smiling, and animated, whenever the conversation turned upon those dear and great interests which filled her whole soul and life ; inattentive and silent when it was otherwise. On these last occasions she often drew from her pocket the little book in which were written so many beautiful things, and while the conversation went on, she would read some of them or write in others. The *habitués* of that salon still remember to have often seen her thus employed, but none of them who chanced to relate anything which interested her soul or confirmed her faith will ever forget the beaming expression with which she would thank them.

In the summer of 1847 Mrs. Craven paid her last visit to Boury. She says :—

13th July, 1847, the day before I left Boury, we went, according to our custom, to the burial-place to pray upon our two dear graves ; she on the stone which covers both that of Albert and the place which, twelve years before, had been prepared for herself ; I kneeling close to the grave of Olga. The evening was very beautiful and very hot. On leaving the burial-ground, we walked slowly by the longest way. What we were speaking of at the beginning of this walk, I do not remember. As we were leaving a corn-field, and reached the road which led to the château, I turned round, and, looking at the sky in the direction of the sun, which was setting in so brilliant a light that it clothed with beauty that gloomy landscape, I said, "I like the setting sun." "I do not," said Alexandrine ; "since my sorrows (a very rare expression in her mouth, and which on that account I remember) "since my sorrows, the setting sun seems sad ; it brings night, and I do not like night ; I like the morning, I like the spring ; they bring before me the reality of eternal life. Night represents to me darkness and sin ; evening makes me feel that everything has an end ; and all this is sad ; but morning and spring remind me that everything wakes up, and is born anew. That is what I like." I am not sure of each word, but I am perfectly sure that that was the exact sense of what she said : and I can still see her looking at that evening glow, which made such a different impression upon us.

Thus we went on our way ; and when we had passed the gate, she said, carrying on what we were saying, "Only think ; everything which pleases us so much on earth is absolutely nothing but a shadow ; and the reality of it all is in Heaven. Love, love ; after all, is it not the sweetest thing on earth ? Is it not easy to imagine, that to love Love itself must be the perfection of this sweetnss ; and to love Jesus Christ is nothing else ; if

only we learn to love Him in the same way that we love upon earth. I should never have been comforted, if I had not felt that this kind of love can be felt for God, and that it endures for ever." In answer I said several things not necessary to relate, and we came to the bench not far from the château.

Several persons were on the lawn. We stopped and sat down, still continuing our conversation. After a few minutes she rose, and went to gather some jessamine which was growing on the wall. She gave it to me, keeping a little sprig in her own hand, and stood before me, going on with what she had been saying. I had said to her, "You are very happy to have so much love to God." She answered me (and her words, her expression, her attitude, will ever remain engraven upon my soul), "Oh, Pauline, how can I help loving God! How can I help feeling transported when I think of Him? How can I take to myself any merit, even that of faith, when I think of the miracle He has worked in my soul, when I feel that after having so ardently loved, and longed after earthly happiness, after having possessed it, lost it, and been in the depths of despair, my soul is now so transformed and so filled with happiness, that all that I have known or imagined is nothing, absolutely nothing, in comparison!" . . . Surprised to hear her speak thus, I said to her, "If the life with Albert of which you used to dream were placed within your reach and assured to you for many years?" She replied, without hesitation, "I would not accept it."

This was our last conversation in this world. It is thus, standing before that bench, with her animated expression, her eyes turned towards Heaven, that little jessamine flower in her hand, that she comes before me, when I try to picture her to myself, as she was when I saw her last on earth. Next morning I left Boury. I have often since returned to pray in the burial-ground; but never from that day have I entered the château.

No wonder Mrs. Craven's life is rather in the past and the future than the present.

Early in Nov. 1847, Alexandrine engaged a lodg ing in Paris, at the convent of S. Thomas of Villa-nova, that she might carry on her usual employments at the season when her mother-in-law was absent. She had occupied it only for a very few weeks, when she was called to take possession of her Eternal Mansion not made with hands. She made a retreat, from which she returned to devote her whole time to God and the poor, undisturbed by any calls of family or of society.

At all hours, and in all weathers, she was abroad; often coming in, benumbed with cold, to a room in which she would not allow a fire to be lighted in her absence. She contented herself, too, with food very different from that to which she was accustomed. Who can say to what degree she thus diminished her strength? Who can say whether she was not already struggling against sickness while she thought she was only resisting fatigue? One morning, when she was, as usual, at Mass in the convent church, a lady who heard her cough and saw her kneeling, so pale, so

poorly clad, and looking so weak, pitied her, and went to one of the sisters of the convent to say that there was a "poor lady in the church evidently too poor to buy necessaries, and to whom she should like to give some milk if she was in need of it, and unable to pay for it."

The charitable lady was astounded when told that the poor woman was Madame Albert de la Ferronnays, but Alexandrine herself laughed heartily at the mistake, without however treating herself less severely than before. For some weeks more she continued to live the same life, and to wear out her remaining strength. Thus she arrived at the first days of 1848—1848, a year in so many ways, and to so many persons, memorable and fatal, and which has in my past life none to compare with it except 1842.

In the first days of January she was suffering from fever. On the Epiphany, though very unwell, she insisted on going into the church for confession and communion, but was afterwards so ill that she went to bed and asked for and obtained extreme unction. Madame de la Ferronnays came to her the same day, and wrote continually to Pauline. Till the evening of the 8th there was no great change; then, after a suffering day, she seemed better. Madame de la Ferronnays and a friend, who were with her, went to bed. At three in the morning they were called.

Sister Mary came in; looked at her, and told me that she thought the moment very near. What a sudden seizure, prepared as she was. Alexandrine saw us, and said: "Do you think I am worse?" The sister said, "Yes." A minute afterwards she replied, "But what makes you think that I am going to die?—I do not feel worse than usual." The sister replied that she was weaker. I pressed her hand, unable to speak. She was quite calm. She spoke with difficulty, but pronounced very well all that she wished to say. For a moment she thought that what was given to moisten her mouth would strengthen and restore her to life; and seemed terrified at the thought of it. We had to reassure her, telling her not to fear, for nothing could bring her back to life; in a few minutes she would see God. We only wished to give her a little refreshment. . . . She answered with a clear and firm voice to the prayers for the dying, and to all the short prayers and ejaculations which were suggested to her. For one moment she had a painful agony, and something of delirium. She fancied she had not received the sacraments; and asked why no prayers were said by her. She seemed uneasy that there was no priest by her. It was painful, but short; a kind of last trial. Sister Mary told her she had nothing to fear; that God was near her, and that she must put all her trust in Jesus Christ. She immediately became calm, and said: "How much good you have done me; I am at peace again!" At that moment two priests came in with Father de Montezon, who gave her the last blessing and Plenary Indulgence; and continued saying prayers by her, in which she joined, and made the answers, repeating the names of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, when they were pronounced. When she

was believed to be unconscious, she put out her lips to kiss the crucifix. At half-past eight she ceased to breathe. Dear angel ; she was united for ever to her Albert and to all our dear Saints, and we will not weep except for ourselves.

In the memoir of F. Ravignan we are told that Alexandrine had offered her own life for his recovery from a sickness pronounced to be hopeless. Mrs. Craven only says : "It is well known that he was absent, and his life almost despaired of; and also that he was restored to life as soon as she left the world." It was a fit ending of a life so full of wonderful interpositions of the Providence and grace of God, and so wholly devoted to Him.

From her deathbed she dictated a letter to Pauline :—

We shall not be parted, and I shall very soon be where the marvellous unity which binds us together in God is understood. I hope that I shall be able to see you ; but pray much for me when I am in Purgatory. What purity must there be to enter Heaven ! And yet, by the infinite grace of God, I have a sweet confidence in the excess of His mercies. I shall love you more there, where all is love ; and we shall talk together, the other beloved ones and I. But oh ! I cannot speak of what it will be to see God, and the Holy Virgin, all the Angels, all the Saints ; and to be freed from all the pains so various and so terrible of this life of sin. Embrace Augustus, whom I unite with you in my heart.

And then one to her mother :—

I am no better ; but I hope nothing will shake your confidence in God, which I know to be firm, and which will lead you into truth and love. We shall meet again. We shall never be separated. But that this may be so, you must in all sincerity give up your dear will to God, to follow the light, which is but one. And to aid you in entering upon this happy path (of which at this moment I appreciate the happiness infinitely more than ever), I implore you, as I have often done before, to pray every day to the Holy Virgin, the Mother of Mercy, to guide you. You know how very dearly I love and venerate you, and how much my sufferings would be increased by what you suffer at this moment ; if there were not the arms of God in which to leave everything. *Au revoir !* I feel a sweet assurance of it, and then with no more suffering ; and, above all, with the infinite happiness of never more offending God. I unite the good Prince in all my warmest feelings towards you.

At the close of this letter to her mother she would add with her dying hand, in German, the three words which follow :—

"Liebe süsse Mama ! (Dear sweet mother.)"

This was the last act of her life ; her last thought of earth.

Imperfect at best must be our estimate of a work of God's

grace, such as we have been contemplating ; but, in order to form any idea of it, we must go back in thought to the commencement of the life of Alexandrine d'Alopeus, and consider how everything seemed to mark her out as one whom the world was to claim for its own. The victory remained with Him whose love drew her through all obstacles to Himself, and who has bid us have confidence, "because He hath overcome the world."

We have confined ourselves to the history of Alexandrine, both as being the real subject of these volumes, and as being, in itself, a single and important whole ; but Mrs. Craven, writing more in the form of annals, has given us, alongside of this, two other narratives, neither of which is, in our judgment, inferior to it in beauty, or in the purity, sweetness, and life of the character described ; those of her sisters, Eugénie and Olga. We heartily wish our space would allow us to give at length these delightful pictures. But, in truth, if we were to translate all that is specially beautiful in the volumes before us, we should translate the whole. Of Eugénie, as she appears in the first volume only, the *Revue des deux Mondes* says :—"Mrs. Craven, we believe, will excuse a preference which she has not herself been able to help avowing ; and will not be surprised if we say that the pages (all too few) which bear the name of Mdlle. Eugénie de la Ferronnays stand out prominent beyond the rest of the work with a brilliancy all their own. They reveal to us one of the rarest of spirits—a spirit threefold noble—both with the nobility of the world, and of nature, and of God. A thorough maiden of high condition is Mdlle. Eugénie de la Ferronnays, a *gentlewoman*, as they say in Mrs. Craven's second country ; thoroughly Christian, and at the same time thoroughly French. Sentiments, the real grandeur of which is veiled by the lightness with which they are worn by the heart in which they spring up—a radiant piety which illumines the whole soul, and leaves no corner dark—a longing for perfection, not springing from disgust at our innate imperfection, and having nothing to do with the experience of evil, but darting upwards toward God with a simple gladness like the song of the lark, soaring towards the Heaven ; a joyous love of death all sparkling and all melodious, which knows neither the gloom of melancholy nor the discord of sighs : a love of God so intimate and so familiar that it ventures even upon the loving playfulness of a daughter with a father ; a liveliness in religious submission which is only found in the Catholic Church, and even there rarely to the same degree."

This is no more than a just appreciation of the singularly beautiful character which, as the *Revue* says, only comes in, in an episode to the first volume, but which is more fully developed in the second. Its distinguishing characteristic was the "joyous love of death" which the reviewer describes. Mrs. Craven says that in the spring of her youth, in earth's brightest corner, at Castellamare, when the united families of young people were daily meeting, in every kind of pleasure, and in none upon which they could not ask the blessing of God, Eugénie, who enjoyed the whole with the freshest and most sparkling gaiety, would often say to her, "Oh, my dearest, how lovely is life; and what then *will* Heaven be? Death is far better than all this." We must not allow ourselves to trace her like a beautiful vision down to Albert's death, her offering of her own life for his recovery, and her ardent desire that the offering might be accepted.

After Albert's death we find her wholly devoted to Alexandrine. She had always had for Mrs. Craven an intense love and admiration, which the object of it apologizes for disclosing, on the plea that such love reflects honour rather on the person who loves than upon the person who is loved. It is impossible to imagine anything more touchingly beautiful than her letter on the evening of Pauline's marriage. That same marriage was a happy event, not only for the persons concerned, but for the world; as without it the materials of these volumes could hardly have existed; and among them there are hardly any more beautiful than Eugénie's constant letters. She thus describes her life at Boury in 1837:—

You want to know what I am doing. I really hardly know. What I am certain of is that I am not dull. I read, write, and sing; sometimes I have a sore throat, and sometimes a headache. I have a class of little girls, to whom I teach the catechism. I walk, I visit sick people in the village. Very often I am so merry that I can hardly speak without singing, and my voice may be heard all day long; often, too, I am sad, and think my life interminably long; because there is nothing here but sighing and complaining. My most distinct feeling is a peace and a calm, for which I daily thank God.

She expressed the strongest hope that she might always be permitted to remain with Alexandrine. In March, 1838, however, she was married to M. Adrien de Mun, and she is the more careful afterwards to express how entire is her happiness in married life, as she has before expressed so strong a wish to remain at home. Four years later she died, leaving two sons; but it is remarkable that before it pleased God to call her away, she had lost her desire of death, and only sub-

mitted to His will : as if that were the frame of mind in which it is His pleasure that death should be met, even by His most favoured servants.

Olga died much younger, in Mr. Craven's house at Brussels, Feb. 10, 1843. From her journal the narrative for three years is chiefly compiled. She seems not to have been in gifts or graces behind any of her family.

Mrs. Craven's volume ends with the death of her mother, in her own house at Baden, Nov. 18, 1848, the year of Alexandrine's departure.

Her two brothers have been called away since these volumes were published. Fernand died in 1867, alone of the family without the last sacraments. He was on a visit to the Duke of Chambord, the head of the family to which his own has always been so faithful ; and was, with him, taking a drive. The Duke spoke to him, and received no answer. He looked more closely, and found that his friend had died in silence by his side. Faithful even to death. R. I. P.

Mrs. Craven ends her book by requesting the prayers of her readers that she may have the grace to be faithful to all required of her by the things she has related ; and that the memorial of those who so much loved God may kindle His love in the hearts of others.

NOTE.—Since this article was written, Mr. Bentley has published an English translation of the *Récit d'une Sœur*, by Miss Bowles, which, we believe, is faithfully and skilfully executed. Much of the delicate grace of style, and even of the peculiar tone of thought, necessarily evaporates in the translation of such a book ; but so far as a very cursory examination enables us to judge, Miss Bowles has discharged her task carefully and conscientiously.

ART. III.—THE IRISH DISESTABLISHMENT.

Debates in the House of Commons on Irish Disestablishment and Dis-endowment.

Pleas for Secularization. By AUBREY DE VERE. London : Longmans.

Ireland and its Churches. By JAMES GODKIN. London : Longmans.

The Church Establishment. Freeman's Journal Commission. Dublin : James Duffy.

IT was said by a Protestant, Sydney Smith, that no such intolerable abuse as the Irish Establishment exists in Europe, Asia, or the discovered parts of Africa. There is no need of being a Catholic to see its monstrous injustice, and no Catholic would dream of advocating such an institution if the cases were reversed. Let us indeed only suppose for one moment that the cases *were* reversed ; and let us imagine the judgment which a Protestant would pronounce. A Catholic ruler comes into possession of some country, the vast majority of whose inhabitants have been Protestants ever since Protestantism began. Zealous men of earlier time have built temples for Protestant worship and given endowments for the promotion of that worship. The ruler lays hold of these temples and endowments ; he compels the great Protestant majority, who are poor, to build fresh chapels and support ministers from their own substance ; while he appropriates to the benefit of his own religion all that has been bequeathed by Protestants for Protestant purposes. The few Catholics, who possess nine-tenths of the property, are spared the expense of supporting their own religion, their priests being maintained in affluence on Protestant plunder. What would be the judgment formed by Protestants concerning such a ruler as this ? And yet at last he considers himself infallibly certain that his Faith is the one pure religion which came from God,* and that every human being would be the better and happier for its acceptance. Moreover, he accounts Catholic bishops and priests to be placed by God in spiritual supremacy over *him* no less than over his subjects ; and is forward in paying to those bishops and priests that very homage, which he desires for them from his people. What then will a candid Protestant say of the case before us ? The sect, in whose behalf England has committed this shameful injustice, neither possesses unity nor

* Of course he *is* infallibly certain of this ; but even Protestants admit that he *considers* himself thus certain.

claims authority. Englishmen, acting through Crown and Parliament, invented its religious tenets, devised its discipline, and then forced it down the throat of Ireland their reluctant dependency.

But if this be a candid Protestant's view, what will be a Catholic's? God has founded His Church as the one ark of Truth, the one way of salvation. Pious Irishmen of successive generations have contributed, from their wealth, to assist her in the great work imposed on her by her Founder, in the great work of rescuing souls from Satan and training them for God. Their English masters begin by themselves apostatizing from that one Church; and then proceed to make use of Irish Church property, for purposes which its donors would have regarded with unutterable loathing and detestation. The endowments, which had been bequeathed for the salvation of souls, were at the Reformation not merely confiscated, but devoted to the purpose of promoting damnation on a large scale. Irishmen had to stand by helpless, while the Immaculate Bride of the Lamb was thus shamelessly insulted before their eyes.

Then further let it be remembered even by Protestants, that the real extent of insolence, involved in such tyranny, should be measured by the effect which it legitimately produces on the mind, not of a Protestant Englishman, but of Catholic Irishman. Looking at the thing politically, Englishmen treat Ireland as they would not dream of treating Malta, Canada, or India; and it is absurd to suppose that, while this exceptional despotism remains unredressed, Irishmen can be attached members of the British Empire. Looking at the thing religiously, our holy religion is treated in Ireland as the very Hindoo idolatry is not treated in India. The Irish Establishment, while it lasts, practically proclaims, that the Catholic Faith is considered a more desperate and irreconcileable enemy to the English nation than any other creed, Christian or Pagan, over the face of the earth. No Catholic can account himself admitted within the pale of the Constitution until this ignominy has been wiped out.*

There is but one theory, which can afford the least palliation for what England has done. There are still some English, and more Irish, Protestants, who regard the Catholic Church as the predicted synagogue of Antichrist, the abode every unclean abomination; who sincerely think that all

* When we say that no Irish abuse is nearly such an insult, nor in itself nearly such a grievance as the Establishment, we do not necessarily deny that, under *present circumstances*, there may possibly be one or two others which, for the moment, are even *more* practically disastrous.

religion and morality perish under her poisonous breath. These men, if honest and consistent, desire not merely that the Establishment may be retained, but that all those civil disabilities may be re-imposed on the Catholic, from which he has so happily escaped ; nay, they must wish that no small portion may be re-enacted of the old penal code. We have not a syllable to say against the legitimacy of their inference, or against the hypothetical truth of their practical conclusion. Our difference with them is on their fundamental premiss : for we know with infallible certainty that that communion is the chosen abode of Christ, which they denounce as the synagogue of Antichrist.

At last, however, such very extreme Protestants as these are comparatively few ; and all others should in consistency admit, that a more insulting grievance than the Irish Establishment does not exist. Two years, or one year ago, there was little thought that the hour of liberation was so nearly at hand : but this was always certain, that whenever the critical period should arrive—whenever the political dial should mark the propitious hour—the Catholics of these islands would combine as one man, to work out their own deliverance and that of the Church. On *this* particular, at all events, there is no fear of Catholic politicians neglecting their duty. The coming elections are to turn on this disestablishment question ; and in these elections all Catholics will be found in each place voting for the same candidates. Then after the election is over—so long as this question, having been raised, remains unsettled—they will temporarily and provisionally throw their whole weight into the scale of that party, which at the moment is labouring in their behalf. They will unite in overthrowing every impediment, and removing every obstacle, which stands in the way of their great purpose.

But while there is almost complete unanimity among Catholics as to their appropriate practical course, a few speculative difficulties have occurred to individuals. These difficulties indeed, we believe, do not cause any doubt, in the Catholic who entertains them, as to his practical course ; but their satisfactory speculative solution eludes his efforts. We will proceed therefore at once to their consideration. And we will then conclude our short article, by dwelling on one most serious *practical* perplexity which seems to meet the Catholic at every turn, in the present position of polities. Firstly however on these speculative difficulties ; which, as it appears to us, admit of very satisfactory solution.

Some Catholics are made anxious by the circumstance, that

the plunder on which the Establishment has thriven for three centuries, belongs in real truth to the Church of Christ; and they do not see on what principle a Catholic can support any other application of it, than unconditional restoration to its rightful owner. We reply, that the Irish bishops, acting publicly under the eyes of the Holy See, have themselves advocated a different destination. It is quite certain therefore that the Holy Father, on behalf of the Church, waives all claim to restitution.

But the chief speculative difficulty felt by Catholics is connected with the Catholic doctrine concerning union of Church and State. The Syllabus infallibly condemns the proposition (LV.) that "Church should be separated from State, and State from Church;" and the "Mirari vos,"—also an infallible Rule of Faith—teaches affirmatively that the "mutual concord" of Church and State "has always been propitious and salutary for the interests of both." We are of course the very last to call in question the peremptory obligation, incumbent on all Catholics, of accepting the Church's doctrine on this head. If—which God forbid!—there be really any Catholics in England, who consider that the union of Church and State in a Catholic country is essentially otherwise than beneficial;—that promotion of the people's spiritual welfare is external to the civil ruler's legitimate province;—that the Church's divinely given authority extends only over the individual, and in nowise over the civil government as such;—we have not a word to say in defence of such Catholics.* They rebel against the Church's infallible teaching, and commit mortal sin. But we are quite unable to see, how the most hearty renunciation of these grave errors can throw any difficulty on the question of Irish disestablishment.

Occasionally indeed you hear language almost implying that the Irish Establishment is the Church, instead of being the Church's determined enemy. To say that the Church-State†

* Take such instances as these of the Church's teaching, from the "Quantâ curâ" alone. "Quæ falsæ ac perverse opiniones eò magis detestandæ sunt, quod eò potissimum spectant ut impediatur et amoveatur *salutaris illa vis* quam Catholica Ecclesia, ex Divini sui Auctoris institutione et mandato, liberè exercere debet, non minus erga *singulos homines* quam erga *nationes populos summosque eorum principes*." "Contra [sanam] doctrinam asserrare non dubitant, optimam esse conditionem societatis, in quâ Imperio non agnoscitur officium coercendi sanctis pœnis violatores Catholiceæ religionis, nisi quatenus pax publica postulet." Again, Syllabus, prop. 24: "Ecclesia vis inferendæ potestatem non habet neque potestatem ullam temporalem directam vel indirectam."

† For convenience sake we will use this, instead of the more cumbrous expression, "Church and State."

principle is ipso facto violated by disestablishment, is simply unmeaning. As well might you say that that principle was violated, when the English Government forbade the religious practice of Hindoo widows being burnt alive. An adult Irish Protestant, if in invincible ignorance, may be travelling towards heaven ; but in strictness he is no more a member of the Visible Church than is an idolatrous Hindoo.

Other Catholics urge with great truth a different consideration. The Church-State doctrine, they say, involves a condemnation of the tenet that the province of civil government is confined to ends purely secular. We have already strongly maintained, that no Catholic is permitted to hold such a tenet. But so far from being *exclusively*, it is not even *principally* on secular grounds, that a good Catholic would overthrow the Irish Establishment. His hatred of it is different in *kind* from his hatred of any tyranny which is purely oppressive and anti-social. He detests it pre-eminently, because it is so injurious to the *spiritual* welfare of Irishmen, Catholic or Protestant.

A third difficulty, founded on the Church-State doctrine, requires more prolonged consideration, though we think it quite as baseless as the two preceding. The Catholic bishops, it is urged, decline receiving for the support of priests any portion of the available property ; and by consequence disestablishment involves a substitution of the "voluntary" principle for the principle of Church and State. Now this phrase—the "voluntary" principle—has various different senses : but in the only sense which is here applicable, there is no opposition whatever—quite the contrary—between the voluntary principle and Catholic doctrine. For more than one reason it is worth while to make this clear ; and we will therefore, in the first place, briefly consider what is involved in that Church-State doctrine, which successive Pontiffs have so earnestly inculcated ex cathedrâ.

The highest form which could be assumed by union between Church and State would be, that in every matter connected, however indirectly, with man's eternal welfare, the civil ruler should defer unreservedly to the Church's counsels. Suppose Nero had been converted to the Gospel, and become a saintly Christian : consider what would have been the influence of SS. Peter and Paul, under such circumstances, over the empire's entire administration, and you will see the highest union of Church and State. But while saintly men are few—i. e. under every constitution of society which has existed or ever will exist on earth—the notion is simply chimerical of such an union as *this* being permanently established. This moreover

is eminently a case in which to aim at an impracticable end would be merely disastrous ; and the Church has never therefore in practice put forth her full claim.

But in many countries and many periods the State has been bound to the Church in most salutary union, though that union has fallen indefinitely short of its highest ideal. Under such circumstances, the State assumes Catholic doctrine as the foundation both of its jurisprudence and its legislation. Its law of marriage, e. g., is identical with the Catholic law, and the State reserves to the Church her due supremacy in deciding all causes matrimonial. Then in various ways it supports the Church with the secular arm. It exercises severe control over the publication of books. If no hereditary Protestants are among its members, it strictly prohibits every attempt to introduce non-Catholic worship ; and at all events it most carefully provides, that the education of Catholic children shall be purely and exclusively Catholic. Coming more nearly to the present question, it secures to the Church all those endowments, which pious Catholics have devoted to her service.

Here, in passing, we will add one word to prevent possible misconception. When Gregory XVI. put forth the "Mirari vos," there was hardly any European state whose relations with the Church reached even the standard which we have just described. Yet even under these circumstances the Pontiff infallibly declared, that this union had *always* been beneficial to both the united societies. He cannot indeed, without monstrous unfairness, be understood as meaning that even such a union as existed under Joseph II. deserves this eulogy ; but his words surely import that *on the whole*, even up to *his* time, the blessings of such union greatly exceeded its evils. He taught then, that even a considerable surrender of the Church's independent action is a less serious calamity, than that de-Catholicization of a country which is involved in the severance of Church and State.

To return, however. The argument which contrasts the Church-State principle with "voluntaryism," implies that the former principle necessarily involves a State payment of priests. But there is no shadow of ground for such a supposition. The Church's endowments did not come from the State, but from the pious gift of zealous individual Catholics ; and in those countries where at present the State confers on priests some pittance, this is but an infinitesimal restitution for some preceding robbery of the Church's revenues.

Doubtless it is quite imaginable that the State might enforce a voluntaryism, which *would* contradict the Church-State principle. It might refuse to secure to the Church possessions

left for her service. And indeed the present law of "superstitious uses" (so far as it goes) is a direct violation of the Church-State principle; it despoils the Church of property which is really hers. But as to the Irish Establishment, it was itself founded on one of the most monstrous transgressions of the Church-State principle which was ever perpetrated; we mean, of course, the plunder of Church property, while the whole nation remained zealously Catholic. Nor can any one in his senses allege that the law of "superstitious uses" will derive any further strength, from the success of Mr. Gladstone's present proposal.

No doubt Cardinal Cullen and the other Irish bishops, for most intelligible reasons, refuse to place the Irish Church in that relation towards a bitterly anti-Catholic and tyrannical Government, which would result from State support of the clergy. But as to "voluntaryism" in any objectionable sense, it is simply monstrous to say that they do otherwise than abhor it. Do they ask, then, that the State shall take from the Church what pious donors have given her during the last century? do they ask that the State shall require Catholics to pay rent for the use of those chapels and school-houses, which the preceding generation of Catholics have built? *This* would be "voluntaryism," in the only sense in which that principle is opposed to the principle of union between Church and State. And we will venture to say that no man living would regard such "voluntaryism" with greater abhorrence than the Irish Bishops. Why, they have actually accepted a State subvention for Maynooth, and desire one for the Catholic University. Nay, put the impossible case, that Parliament should frankly admit the Church to be the one legitimate owner of all Church property in Ireland, conferred in Catholic times. Put the impossible case, that Parliament should wish to restore her that property, as to its one legitimate and indefeasible owner. We do not see the slightest appearance, that the Irish Bishops would hesitate to accept such restitution as their legitimate due. That the Church should re-enter into possession of property conferred on her by pious Catholics of the past, as the confessed and absolute owner of that property,—this is one thing. That she should become the stipendiary of a violently anti-Catholic nation to which Irishmen are politically subjected—this is a different and indeed most opposite thing.

One concluding word on "voluntaryism," though somewhat episodical to our main design. You may sometimes hear a Catholic say, that voluntaryism is the state of things which prevails among Catholics of this kingdom; and that it pre-

sents certain *incidental* advantages over union of Church and State. Now, from what has been said, it is at once evident that such a Catholic expresses himself altogether incorrectly. What do you mean by voluntaryism? we would say to him. Do you mean the condition of things under which priests receive no payment from the State? But this has been the condition of things, where Church and State have been most firmly united; for the State has done no more, than to secure for the Church the possessions bestowed on her by pious individuals. Do you mean then by "voluntaryism" the condition of things under which the State does *not* secure this? But such is *not* the condition of things among the Catholics of this kingdom; otherwise, as we have pointed out, you would have Government requiring them to pay rent, for the use of chapels and schoolrooms built by their co-religionists of the last generation.

Yet we think such a Catholic means something, though he does not mean exactly what he has said. He intends to say, we think, that where Catholic endowments have remained untouched for many centuries, and the clergy consequently enjoy much wealth, there exists a tendency to decay of zeal. Well, we suppose no Catholic would suggest, as a cure for this evil, that the State should despoil the Church periodically. But we would here point out that this evil, be its magnitude greater or smaller, is by no means without a remedy on the Church-State principle. Pious donors of old intended, not the injury, but the benefit of souls; and would have heartily accepted the Church's judgment as to what is benefit and what is injury. Let it be supposed then, merely for argument's sake, that (most contrarily to their intention) their gifts are now injurious to souls rather than beneficial. So soon as the Church may form this judgment, she will desire (saving of course present interests) to alter somewhat the disposition of their gifts; and the State should of course give its cordial co-operation towards effecting the Church's desire. In truth, so far as such evils *have* anywhere existed, we believe that they have arisen from any cause rather than the Church-State principle. They have arisen, we believe, not from the State's loyal subordination to the Church in all things indirectly spiritual, but rather from its defending prevalent abuses against the Church's animadversion.

We cannot then see any force whatever in the speculative difficulties which have been raised, on Catholic principles, against Irish disestablishment. But we do think there is one most serious evil in the present situation; viz., its tendency

to strengthen the connection, already (we think) far too close, between Catholic public men and Liberal politicians. It is now more than a year (see April 1867, Art. V.) since we earnestly protested against the Catholics of this empire identifying themselves with either of the two great political parties; and every month which has passed since that time, has but increased our conviction in the same sense. But of the two parties, the Liberal seems to us more anti-Catholic even than the Conservative; and we are proportionately the more alarmed at this particular feature in our present prospect.

Before saying more however on the Liberals, a word on their enemies the Conservatives. In the article to which we have just referred, we dwelt on the anti-Catholic bitterness and prejudice which constitutes so large a part of their political strength. "If you were to poll," we said, "all the priests in the British islands, we believe nineteen-twentieths would depose that among the Protestant gentry they find Liberals far more friendly to the Church than Tories; far more ready to promote her just claims; far more ready to protect her against the oppressions of the Establishment. There are few Catholic interests so important, as the obtaining for priests their due position in workhouses and prisons." Who have offered the greatest impediment to this? "In the great majority of instances Liberal magistrates vote for justice to the Church, and Conservative magistrates against it." Recent events singularly corroborate this view of the case. It has been maintained by their Catholic supporters, that the Conservatives, in opposing Irish disestablishment, are influenced by the Church-State principle. We can see no signs of this. Their two main arguments have been (1) the religious corruption of Rome; and (2) the vital importance of preserving the State's supremacy in spirituals. The phrase "union of Church and State" means one thing in the mouth of a Catholic, and just the opposite in the mouth of a Protestant Conservative. We are not here speaking of the circumstance, that what Protestants account "the Church," is considered by Catholics an heretical sect: but we are speaking of another consideration entirely different. The Catholic means by "the union of Church and State" the State's due deference to the Church on matters indirectly spiritual; but the Protestant Conservative understands by the phrase an iron despotism, exercised by the civil over the ecclesiastical society. This circumstance was illustrated again and again by the language heard from the most distinguished Conservatives in the disestablishment debates.

Mr. Disraeli undoubtedly, in the earlier part of the session,

appeared to exhibit a much better spirit. But since the political battle has begun to go against him, he has certainly shown various signs of wishing to avail himself of the No Popery cry, as a means of retaining office. We need hardly remind our readers of his preposterous talk, about a supposed combination of Catholics and Ritualists ; and about the serious peril of Roman Catholic despotism, with which forsooth England is threatened. Either he was sincere in his language, or he was not. If he was sincere in it, he is as hopeless an anti-Catholic fanatic as Mr. Whalley. If he was not sincere in it—and no one certainly believes him to have been sincere—two inferences at once follow. It becomes evident how the exigencies of his position, as leader of the Conservative party, compel him to assume an anti-Catholic position ; and this is one conclusion on which we laid considerable stress last year. Then secondly he has made it impossible to believe, without great qualification, his most earnest asseverations. He has endeavoured to get up a No Popery cry : and we are here assuming that he has personally no sympathy with that cry, nor any agreement with the opinions which it embodies. He has shown himself desirous then of promoting what he knows to be blasphemy and false witness—we have no right to say for his personal ambition—but, at all events, for the furtherance of those political ends which he has at heart.

There is another opinion, which we expressed in the same article, and which has been vividly illustrated by recent events. We said that even where the intention of a Conservative *Cabinet* is equitable and kind towards Catholics, its hands are often entirely tied by the bigotry of its supporters ; of Irish Orangemen and of English country gentlemen. On the present occasion many Irish Protestants have said, that at last they would rather have Mr. Gladstone's plan than Mr. Disraeli's ; that they would rather give up their own ecclesiastical plunder, than see State money given for Roman Catholic purposes.

It seems to us, then, a profound mistake that any Catholic should identify himself with the Conservative party, or repose any kind of confidence in its leaders. But this is no reason whatever why he should not earnestly support—as it is indeed his sacred duty to support—whatever individual measure they may introduce which tends to the Church's benefit. In European politics they are much less unrelentingly opposed than their opponents to the Pontiff's civil sovereignty, and to the great principles which that sovereignty represents. Some few of them indeed are hardly hostile to those principles

at all. And there is one most vital truth undoubtedly of domestic policy, which they apprehend indeed very inadequately, but which, at least, is far more cherished by *them* than by the other great party in the State. That divorce of politics from religion, which is the most imminent social danger of our time, and against which the Holy Father so urgently warns his children, is deprecated by the great body of Conservatives, though languidly and feebly; but it is the one leading political principle of the most influential Liberals.

Now here we are well aware that several admirable Catholics take a different view from ourselves, on the dominant principles of the Liberal party in these islands. That they are disposed to draw a wide distinction between British and foreign Liberalism. We have no wish, as we have no right, to dogmatise on such a matter. We sincerely hope that these Catholics may be in the right, and that our own anticipations may be unfounded. But we may be allowed frankly to express our convictions. To enter on the subject indeed, in an extent at all proportionate to its importance, would be to write a long article on nothing else. But we will briefly express our meaning.

Some twenty or thirty years ago it was the approved Liberal cant in England, that a civil ruler, as such, has no concern with the moral and spiritual welfare of his subjects, but only with the protection of person and property. Whatever incidental harm may have been done by this ridiculous formula, there was at all events one drawback from its evil effects; viz. the circumstance that no one could, by possibility, put it into practice. If it meant anything, it meant that when any proposal was before Parliament, no member was permitted by God to take into account, as influencing his vote, the *moral and religious tendency* of that proposal. On this theory a legislator is commanded by God to vote for any measure which slightly increases the people's security and physical enjoyment, though he were firmly convinced that its effects on piety and morality would be disastrous. No earnest man—be he Christian or Deist—could in practice endure so detestable a rule of conduct; and since therefore the current language could not by possibility be understood as meaning *this*, it could not be understood as meaning anything whatever. It was a mere formula: used by rival religious bodies, as a fling against the Establishment; and used by worldly men, for the sake of resisting with more plausibility religious measures which they abhorred.

Very different is the view now gaining ground among Eng-

lish Liberals. The "Pall Mall Gazette" has again and again distinctly maintained, that the State should possess a moral and religious theory of its own, and found thereon its whole legislation. This is the view which, consciously or unconsciously, has dominion over the ablest and most influential members of the Liberal party, and which (we are confident) is rapidly and widely spreading among them. The principle of dogmatic religion—or in other words of a definite revealed Faith—is not at all regarded by them as a matter external to the State's province, but quite the contrary: they consider it as one most principal evil against which the State ought to contend. This has long been the rallying point of the great Liberal and infidel faction throughout Europe; and English Liberals are growing yearly into greater sympathy with their brethren on the Continent. Hence it is that intolerant bigots, like Mr. Lowe, oppose so bitterly denominational education. We are firmly convinced, as we stated in our last number (p. 524), "that on the issue of this contest between denominational and secular education, more than on all other issues put together, depends the future well-being of the Empire." Yet on the other hand, we cannot but strongly think that the principle of secular education, as *opposed* to denominational, tends more and more to become the principal bond of union for English Liberals. Nor do we expect that many years will pass before the tendency shall have reached its consummation, and anti-denominationalism shall have become recognised as an essential bond and watchword of the Liberal party.

Mr. Gladstone stands, no doubt, in such matters immeasurably above the average of his followers; yet we cannot admit that his leadership affords Catholics any security. For ourselves, when we look back at the circumstances of his past career, we cannot feel the confidence which some excellent Catholics entertain, that he may not be gradually absorbed into the vortex of anti-Catholic principle with which he is surrounded. Even at present he openly avows his sympathy with Continental liberalism. "I claim," he said, on April 30th, "to be in spontaneous concurrence with that party all over the world (by whatever name called) which in every country is endeavouring *for the sake of social justice* to break down the system of *religious ascendancy*.*" In illustration he expressly referred to the anti-Papal movement in Austria; and it is difficult to see where such a principle can possibly

* An excellent article on this speech appeared in the "Westminster Gazette" of May 9th.

stop in its application. At all events, to our own mind this is quite certain : either Mr. Gladstone will surrender his present convictions on denominational education, or he will not long retain his position as Liberal leader. Meanwhile we are very curious to see the ground he will take up, when he is obliged to face the question of a charter for the Catholic University. That his party would permit him to grant anything of the kind, even were he personally disposed so to do, is of course the most extravagant of suppositions. But Mr. Gladstone is seldom content, without broaching some theory to explain his conduct ; and we are very curious to see what speculative principles he will enunciate, as bearing on this particular subject.

The spirit then which now predominantly animates the Liberal party, and which (we are persuaded) is rapidly growing among them both extensively and intensively, is impatience and disgust at every assertion of definite religious dogmata : i.e. at the assertion of them as being certainly true, and as being essential to the welfare of society. As yet the State Establishment, from its prominent position, is the principal mark for their attack. This aversion induces them again and again to protect Catholics against its various aggressions and injustices ; and at the present moment is one principal reason of their supporting Mr. Gladstone's measure. In the earlier part of our article we have earnestly maintained that a *Catholic*, in supporting that measure, does not tend ever so remotely to violate the Church-State principle ; but we have never thought of doubting that a vast number of those *Protestants* who promote it, do so on principles fundamentally and violently anti-Catholic.

This fundamental opposition between Catholicity and English political Liberalism will before very long, we expect, be as externally manifest as it is now intrinsically certain. The Irish Establishment is doomed, and the English will not be very long in following its sister to the grave. On the other hand, the Church is rapidly increasing in strength and numbers; her children are becoming far more alive to the vast extent of her doctrinal teaching ; and her dogmatic exclusive peremptory character becomes daily more manifest. If the anti-dogmatic Liberals have hated this poor mongrel inarticulate Anglican denomination, what will be their feelings towards the One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church, when she stands revealed before men (all intervening clouds removed), in her true colours ? The ultimate battle—for which present events are gradually procuring a free stage—will lie between those two irreconcileable enemies, Catholicity and Liberalism,

It is the Church's interest indubitably that the battle should not begin prematurely; but even at the present comparatively early period, everything which strengthens the Liberal party is the Church's serious calamity, everything which weakens that party is her great gain.

It is to us then a matter of keen grief, that this attack on the Irish Establishment—an attack in itself so just and so necessary—has incidentally added much strength to the Liberal ranks. At the beginning of this Session that party consisted of "leaders who could not lead, and followers who would not follow." It is now, alas! more united than it has been for many years past. Various circumstances have conduced to this; and especially the outrageous and monstrous character of that Establishment, which Liberals are assaulting and Conservatives defending. We may be quite sure indeed that this union of Liberals will not long remain unbroken. Their present work is merely the work of overthrow, while the task of reconstruction as yet is future. When the Catholic plunder, so long monopolized by the detestable Establishment, has to be redistributed—there will be much wholesome discord in the Liberal ranks. Such discord cannot possibly avert the doom of the Establishment; but it should do wonders in enlightening the Catholic body on the true character of many of its contemporary allies. Let Catholics then be on the watch, as discussions proceed, both to disavow emphatically the anti-Catholic principles by which so many of their allies will defend the Catholic cause; and also to give their voice for that appropriation of the Church's revenues, which, of all obtainable appropriations, may be least out of harmony with her spirit and her interest.

One great advantage will arise from that speedy settlement of the question, which now seems almost certain. When once it is out of the way, Catholics will again be free to pursue their appropriate policy, and assume a position entirely independent of the two great parties. Every sign of the political horizon makes us more desirous of so happy a consummation. When the struggle now looming in the distance becomes present and energetic, it is most important that Catholics shall have fixed themselves in their true political position. That true political position consists in union with each other, and non-union with externs. They can have no deep and permanent sympathy with British Conservatism; and still less, of course, with Liberalism, whether British or other.

Every day the question of Catholic higher education becomes more pressing. As we pointed out last year

(April 1867, p. 393), there are many great political verities, in which all those Catholics must agree, who will consent to be taught by the Teacher of all Christians; and these verities are more practically momentous than any others. It is unspeakably important, that the rising generation shall be trained in the firm grasp and full appreciation of these verities; that the young Catholic shall have learned to regard it as his first political duty, to co-operate heartily in their support with his brethren in the Faith. When this foundation is firmly laid, we do not think that a loyal Catholic will experience any serious difficulty, in seeing his way through the political perplexities and entanglements of our time.

ART. IV.—GLASTONBURY.

A History of the Church in England, from the earliest period, to the re-establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy in 1850. By the Very Rev. CANON FLANAGAN. In 2 Vols. London : Dolman. 1857.

IT is curious to note the difference in religious tone of the county histories and other books of antiquities which we possess. No antiquarian record of any part of the British empire can fail to be largely occupied with things ecclesiastical. The old faith, with the old practice, has left its indelible stamp on the land. Ruined abbeys and priories; ancient almshouses, dragging on a mutilated existence, with revenues diminished or misapplied; market-crosses, *minus* the holy Rood and *plus* a statue of the reigning king; remarkable details in the architecture of the county churches; curious old forms of tenure of church lands; popular customs, guild observances and festivals, their meaning now lost or obscure,—these things, from the nature of the case, engage antiquarian writers. Take from the county historian the Catholic relics existing in his shire, and you mulct him of a good half of the interesting things he has to tell of. He is left with a Roman camp or two—“a praetorian here, praetorian there,” which Ochiltree might dispute with him; half a dozen gentlemen’s seats, a remarkable gooseberry, some “oldest inhabitant,” of capricious memory, and a shapeless mass of limestone on a hill-side, which might be cromlech, or might be boulder.

This being so, two lines of treatment are open to the county historian, when he sets to work on his chief material. He

may go up and down, like an "Old Mortality," whose departed heroes shall be monks and canons, instead of Roundheads and Covenanters. He then deciphers, with patient reverence, those records written in the dust; and, without subscribing to the tenets of the dead men who wrote them, gives them fair allowance of credit, as truthful annalists and honest souls. Or, pandering to the times, and infected by their spirit, heir of the prepossessions and mis-statements of the eighteenth century, and bestowing them upon the nineteenth, he writes as Byron, Jonathan Oldbuck, and others, have written and spoken of the monastic homes they inherited from the spoiler.

Such a division of antiquarian writers into the reverent and flippant, the candid and the prejudiced, is susceptible of this further remark, that, as a rule, the reverent and candid belong to an earlier period, the flippant and prejudiced to a later. We shall see instances in point, among the authorities we are now about to quote on the subject of Glastonbury.

Nor is such a distinction surprising. It is, indeed, merely a commentary on the religious history of England. When a limb is newly severed from its parent tree, the leaves at first show little or nothing of the fatal amputation. So of the schism under Henry VIII. All that had sprouted and bloomed on the Anglican "branch," in virtue of the sap which it derived from the trunk, still showed what of late years it has been the fashion to call *signs of life*. It was by a gradual though sure process, that the separation became as manifest in its results, mental and spiritual, as in its historical facts. *Diminutæ sunt veritates a filiis hominum.* Unbelief began to weight the scale against what lingered of the banished faith, and flippancy to outface the ancient reverence. The calumnies which interested motives uttered against the monastic Orders in one century, lived on as a kind of popular jest in the succeeding, and became stereotyped in the literature of the last generation.

In this article we are to notice the first and last scene in a long monastic drama. Not that the intervening occurrences at Glastonbury fail of a very real interest; but because its first traditional foundation, and its too certain dissolution, after some fifteen centuries of life, form its two most striking epochs. They may, in a sense, be said to contain the whole description of a spot, perhaps the most remarkable in all England from a religious point of view. One of these periods is needed to interpret the other. Deny S. Joseph of Arimathæa, and you are thrown upon mere feeble conjectures to account for the wealth and consideration which rendered the great Benedictine monastery a prime mark for the monster Henry. Suppose the ancient legend true, and Glastonbury,

such as it was in the sixteenth century, becomes religiously congruous, nay, inevitable.

The history of this place, sacred in Catholic eyes, remarkable to any one pretending a knowledge of the past, divides itself obviously into five chief periods. The first includes the coming, the lives and deaths, of S. Joseph and his eleven companions. The second, the revival of Christianity in Britain, and therefore in Glastonbury, under the auspices of King Lucius, and through the mission of SS. Phaganus and Diruvianus, sent thither by S. Eleutherius from Rome. The third, Glastonbury, still Celtic, and more or less distinctly monastic, that is, with a life partly cenobitic, partly eremitical. This is the period of the Patrick who was surnamed Sen-Patric, or Patricius Senior (apparently a monastic saint anterior to the apostle of Ireland), together with his followers, including S. Indractus and his slaughtered companions; and subsequently of S. David, the great bishop of Menevia. The fourth, Glastonbury from the coming of S. Augustine, through the early Saxon kings, down to the reign of Edmund, at once disciple and patron of S. Dunstan. The fifth, from the introduction of the Benedictine rule by S. Dunstan (himself a native of Glastonbury, or the neighbourhood), in the year 942, to the martyrdom of the sixtieth and last abbot, Richard Whiting, and the dispersion of the community—a period of nearly six hundred years.

We are about to reverse the natural order of things, and take our readers into the sixteenth century, before investigating the story of Glastonbury in the first. For, though we would not deprive them of some notice of Whiting, the last and martyred abbot, our chief present interest lies with S. Joseph of Arimathæa. The death of the princely old abbot, with two of his community, on the Tor Hill, up which his murderers dragged him to be hanged and quartered, might be paralleled by other events of the period, at Tyburn and the Tower of London. But the alleged, and (we hope to show) more than alleged coming of S. Joseph to Iniswytryn, the future Avalon or Glaston, is an event of absorbing interest, with which few can compare. In some of its features it resembles the coming of S. Patrick to Ireland, three centuries and a half later, while in the proof it affords of a cultus of the Blessed Mother of God in apostolic times, we know nothing to compare it with, except the oratory dedicated to our Lady on Mount Carmel.

To look in, then, upon Glastonbury Abbey shortly before its suppression, we are introduced into a stately and impressive scene.

As this surpassed all the abbeys in England, except that of Westminster, in the largeness of revenues, and exceeded in extent all the cathedrals except old S. Paul's in London, so we may reasonably imagine that it was adorned with as stately and as many, if not more, fine tombs than any other church in our island ; and Cressy tells us ("Church History," book ii.) that the multitude of persons interred here is so great that it cannot be reckoned. At the time of the dissolution, here were as great a number of monks and officers as in any convent in England, a little before which, viz., 26 Henry VIII., the revenues were valued at £3,311. 7s. 4d. Dugd. ; £3,508. 13s. 4d. Speed.—(Willis's "Mitred Abbeys," vol. i. p. 99.)

These tombs were of Saxon kings and others, in goodly array. Camden begins the list with King Arthur and his Queen Guinever, and goes on to enumerate "Kentwyn, Edmund I., Edgar, and Edmund Ironsides, four dukes, four bishops, and thirteen abbots ; besides other eminent personages, all whose monuments, except a few of unknown religious, removed to Wells, are totally destroyed, or concealed under rubbish."* The buildings, with the noble abbey church, and the various offices and courts, with the walled enclosure, occupied an extent of sixty acres. Nor will this surprise us, when we remember that the community was of some hundred religious, and that the abbot, beside the retinue almost indispensable to a man occupying his temporal and ecclesiastical station, maintained around him a sort of University in miniature, as well as a middle school, or *petit séminaire*.

This is a mere outline of the picture; nor are we now able to fill it in as it deserves. We must leave Dugdale to enumerate the abbot's lodgings, including "the great chamber, seventy-two feet long and twenty-four feet broad;" "the high chamber, called the king's lodgings," with eleven other apartments in the same block of building; then, the prior's lodgings, with its separate hall, chapel, kitchen, and apartments : above all, "the almoner's house," and "sub-almoner's office," a detail of which would go far to reconcile the modern mind to an establishment which was the dispensary for medical relief as well as the public soup-kitchen for regular dole, in behalf of the whole neighbourhood.†

* Camden's "Britannia," vol. i. p. 101.

† Camden says of the abbot and community (p. 193, ed. 1600), *Quasi regnasset, eorum etiam nutum vicini omnes spectarunt*. Gough, in his edition of Camden (vol. i. p. 81), rather unfairly translates it, that they "lived like kings in the utmost affluence." Camden is speaking rather of authority and influence over the neighbouring districts ; Gough fixes his remark on their wealth ; and with some implied censure on their spirit. One great testimony to the religious life maintained here is the fact that, from the time of S. Dunstan, superiors for all the Benedictine houses in England were selected from Glastonbury.

We must, however, indulge ourselves with one passage from Dugdale: "Of the library," he says, "(and the scriptorium adjoining it, where the monks were constantly employed in composing or transcribing books for the use of the library), not a vestige remains. How richly it was stored may be conceived from what the learned antiquary Leland reports of it, who visited the place but a few years before it was dissolved:—' It was scarcely equalled,' he says, ' by any other library in all Britain. He had scarcely passed the threshold, when the very sight of so many sacred remains of antiquity struck him with an awe of astonishment, that for a moment he hesitated.' He afterwards spent some days in examining it, by the permission of Abbot Whiting, and has, in his 'Comment. de Scriptoribus Britannicis,' given an account of some of the more curious manuscripts he found there."

Dugdale adds, in a note:—" Bishop Tanner, in the preface to his 'Notitia Monastica,' has given a catalogue of upwards of fifty volumes, which were transcribed in one abbot's time."

Michael Drayton, though he writes in verse, is surely using no poetical license in his lament over the destruction of such a vast literary and charitable institution :—

Oh, who thy ruin sees, whom wonder doth not fill
 With our great fathers' pomp, devotion, and their skill ?
 Thou more than mortal power (this judgment rightly weighed)
 Then present to assist, at that foundation laid ;
 On whom, for this sad waste, should Justice lay the crime ?
 Is there a power in Fate, or doth it yield to Time ?
 Or was their error such, that thou couldst not protect
 Those buildings which thy hand did with their zeal erect ?
 To whom didst thou commit that monument to keep
 That suff'reth with the dead their memory to sleep ?
 When not great Arthur's tomb nor holy Joseph's grave
 From sacrilege had power their sacred bones to save ;
 He who that God in man to His sepulchre brought,
 Or he which for the faith twelve famous battles fought.
 What ? did so many kings do honour to that place,
 For avarice at last so vilely to deface ?
 For reverence to that seat which had adscribed been,
 Trees yet in winter bloom, and bear their summer's green.

Glastonbury, indeed, was England's "second Rome," as it is often called in ancient charters and chronicles. It merited the title from the number and preciousness of its relics, and from the bodies of saints buried within its precincts; as well as from the extent of its privileges and influence. The spot on which the light of the Gospel was believed first to have

shone, on which the “beautiful feet of those who brought tidings of good things” first halted, could hardly rank after any other in the island. Hence we are not to wonder at royal gifts and royal charters,* privileges from the Eternal City, “hides” of land, jewels, architecture, treasures of church furniture, troops of retainers, farms, granges, benefices, lavished on the favoured place. The irresistible, irrepressible momentum of a Catholic kingdom’s devotion poured these offerings upon a soil on which the Cross was believed to have been first planted. Perilous gifts, as exciting the cupidity of men who would cast sacred ashes to the winds for the costly reliquary containing them, and abolish the daily Sacrifice to secure the jewelled chalice in which it was offered. Perilous, in a higher sense, and with a subtler danger: for wealth has often been the handmaid of corruption. To go no further for a reason, a well-endowed monastery was worth bestowing by some profigate king upon some unworthy favourite. Its broad acres were coveted by the ecclesiastical courtier in an earlier reign,

* The following expressions occur in charters, the first, second, fourth, and fifth of which are to be found in the “*Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*,” published by the English Historical Society, London, 1839; the others in Dugdale.

Ina, King of West Saxons, June, ann. 702.—“In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi Salvatoris! Ea quæ secundum decreta canonum tractata fuerint, licet sermo tantum ad testimonium sufficeret, tamen pro incerta futuri [conditione] chirographorum schedulis sunt roboranda. Quapropter ego Ina, regnante Domino rex Saxonum, viginti cassatos pro remedio animæ meæ Beorhtwaldo abbatii ad sanctum monasterium Glastingaburga videor contulisse,” &c.

Idem, 704.—“Ecclesia Beatae Dei genitricis Mariæ, et Beati Patricii . . . in pristinā urbe que dicitur Glastingea.”

Idem.—“Ecclesia D. N. J. C. et perpetuae V. M. sicut in regno Britannie est prima, et fons et origo totius religionis, ita et ipsa supereminentem privilegii obtineat dignitatem; nec ulli omnino homini ancillare obsequium faciat in terris, quæ super choros angelorum dominatur in celis.”

Idem, 725.—“Ecclesia vetusta, quæ est in loco qui dicitur Glasteie, quam magnus sacerdos et pontifex summus angelorum obsequio sibi ac perpetuae Virgini Mariæ, beato David, multis et inauditis miraculis, olim se sanctificasse innotuit.” In the same charter: “Kentwinus rex, qui Glastingie matrem sanctorum vocare solitus fuerat.”

Edmund, ann. 944.—“Celeberrima vetusta ecclesia sanctæ Dei genitricis . . . præ cæteris sit liberior cum terminis suis.”

Edgar, ann. 971.—“Ecclesia beatissimæ Dei genitricis semperque Virginis Mariæ Glastoniæ, sicut ex antiquo principalem in regno meo obtinet dignitatem, ita speciali quadam et singulari privilegii libertate per nos honoretur.”

Canute.—“Concedo ecclesiae Sanctæ Dei genitricis semperque Virginis Mariæ Glastoniæ jura et consuetudines, etc. ut nullus omnino illam insulam intrare audeat, cujuscumque ordinis sit aut dignitatis: sed omnia . . . tantummodo abbatis judicium et conventus expectent, sicuti prædecessores mei sanxerunt et privilegiis confirmarunt, Kentwines, Ines, Cuthredus, Elfredus, Edwardus, Edmundus, et incomparabilis Edgarus.”

not less than by the secular in a later. Yet, in saying this, we are to remember that wealth, though perilous, is not of its own nature evil. It is the *love* of money which is called by the Apostle the “root of all evils ;” and to that root the axe of mortification was often laid by wealthy churchmen in the Middle Ages. The great Ximenes wore his rough Franciscan scapular, and the yet ruder hair-shirt of penance, under the stately robes which beseemed the Prince of the Church, the High Chancellor, Primate, and Regent of Spain. Once (if we rightly recall the anecdote from his life) the Cardinal opened the rich folds of his robes, when in a public assembly the preacher took upon him to inveigh against the churchman’s outward magnificence, as it met the eye ; and by that simple and truly grand rebuke, demonstrated that he had never been seduced by his high state from practising the mortifications of his religious life. In days of faith, when men realised the blessings they received from the Church, they honoured it, even in a temporal sense, as being, after the sovereign, the first estate of the realm. A good third of the broad acres of England became ecclesiastical property ; not through extortion and fraud, as non-Catholic historians would have it appear, but as one wide act of faith, commensurate with the nation. It was to the merit of the individual givers, and—most undoubtedly—to the peril of the individual receivers : a peril constant and alarming ; but side by side with which grew the heavenly remedy. There was wealth and secularity, opposed point-blank by systematic penance and mortification. It entered into, and formed part of, the manifold and recognized perils of the priesthood and the religious state. At all events, it was not the unredeemed, uncounteracted danger of the present Lambeth, St. James’s Square, or Farnham Castle.

But the central figure, all the while, in this picture ? the ecclesiastical lord of this wide and fair domain ? Walter Scott with his pen, Landseer with his pencil, would draw the abbot as—they have drawn him. It has become part of an Englishman’s traditional belief, that the abbot is a fat abbot, proud and pursy, indolent or worse ; a drone in his extensive hive, a cumberer of the rich ground which mistaken piety and abject superstition have made over to him. The joyous prior of Jorvalz represents a popular picture as faithfully as the holy clerk of Copmanhurst.

Was it so with Whiting, the last and martyred abbot of Glastonbury ? Had he become corrupted by the wealth and power that surrounded him ? We answer, the fact of his martyrdom in itself is a strong negative presumption. Men

do not usually receive so high a grace, unsupported by grace habitual and sanctifying. A decline in vigilance, prayer, mortification, and the other virtues of the religious life, would leave the soul weak and defenceless on so great an emergency. He who will not take up his daily cross, will hardly lay down his life. Had Whiting been a degenerate monk, his name might have gone down to posterity with that of Cranmer.

Now Collinson, in his "History of Somersetshire," speaks as follows : and the value of his testimony is enhanced by the fact that he rather belongs to the irreverent and unbelieving class. Yet he says :—

This Richard Whiting, who was the last abbot of Glastonbury, finished Edgar's chapel and much enlarged the buildings of the monastery. He presided over this abbey in those unpropitious days to monks and religious societies, when the accumulated treasures of many ages, which had been derived to the Church from the bounty of kings and nobles, were appropriated to secular purses and avaricious interests. Whiting was unwilling to surrender his abbey to the king, or to lend an ear to any of the solicitations which were offered him : whereupon, by false pretence, they seized on him at his manor house of Sharpham, A.D. 1539, and without much formal process as to law or equity, he was dragged on a hurdle to the Torr Hill, where, without the least regard to his age, his sanctity, or his entreaties to revisit his convent, he was hanged, his head set upon the abbey gate, and his quarters sent to Wells, Bath, Ivelchester, and Bridgewater.

Collinson quotes, in a note, a MS. letter from "J. Russell, from Welles, the 16th day of Novembre" (1539), the terms of which would lead us to infer that instead of simple hanging, the abbot and two of his community who suffered with him underwent the unmitigated rigours of the barbarous and horrible execution then in use for real or alleged high treason.

"On Thursdaye the 14th daye of the present moneth the Abbott of Glastonburye was arrayned, and the next daye putt to Execucion wyth 2 other of his Monkes for the robbing of Glastonburye Churche (!) on the Torre Hyll next unto the Towne of Glastonburye ; the seyd Abbot's Bodye being devyded in fower partes and Hedde stryken off," &c.

He was head (proceeds Collinson) of the most ancient abbey of England, whereof the governor had precedence of all the abbots in England till the year 1154, when Pope Adrian IV. gave that honour to the abbot of St. Alban's, in consideration of his having received his education in that abbey, and because our proto-martyr S. Alban suffered there. He was always a member of the Upper House of Convocation, and a parliamentary baron, being summoned by a particular writ to sit among the elders and barons of the realm. His apartment was a kind of a well-disciplined court, where

the sons of noblemen and gentlemen were sent for their virtuous education, and returned thence excellently accomplished. After this manner Abbot Whiting bred up near three hundred pupils, besides others of a meaner rank, whom he fitted for the universities at home. His table, attendants, and officers were an honour to the nation. He is said to have entertained five hundred persons of fashion at one time, and that upon Wednesdays and Fridays, weekly, all the poor of the country were relieved by his particular charity; and when he went abroad (which he seldom did, but to national synods, general chapters, and parliamentary conventions) he was attended by upwards of one hundred persons.*

We hardly know how we could add to the value of this half-conscious testimony from a thoroughly non-Catholic writer. It seems to us to sketch the outlines of a life and career which might contain all the elements of sanctity, and fitly end in martyrdom. *Mutatis mutandis*, for the difference of century and circumstance, it might be the external aspect of a S. Thomas or S. Edmund of Canterbury, or a S. Charles of Milan. A man has committed to him great means of influence for good, under the forms of abundant—even superabundant—wealth, and very high position in Church and State. He takes his part in the deliberations of every assembly to which he has a right as peer of the realm, prelate of the Church, superior of a wide-spread and influential religious order. Thus, through no less than three several channels his powerful voice is heard in the land. And his hand, in the administration of princely revenues, is no less potent than his voice. Suppose him faithful to his high trust, to the degree to which his Protestant panegyrist would advance him, do we not seem to hear in the Gospel the words of his final welcome? Has he not had many talents committed to him, and has he not brought in a proportionate return?

Let us look at this by the light of a supposed parallel case.

The *Times*, then, in a special article might say—

Silvanus, sixtieth duke of Bedford, whose demise is noticed to-day in our obituary, has left a name behind him which will not easily be effaced from the memory of his contemporaries, nor from the records of his country. Entering, comparatively late in life, upon the splendid inheritance which it was his destiny to enjoy, he appeared, from the first, to regard himself simply as the steward of his wide-spread possessions and influence. Re-

* Collinson's "History of Somersetshire," vol. ii. p. 255. "Leland," says Dugdale (art. Glast.) "in his MS. in the Bodleian Library, calls Whiting 'homo sane candidissimus et amicus meus singularis.' Through this he afterwards drew his pen." It was probably inexpedient, not to say dangerous, for the king's "royal antiquary" to speak in such terms of a man executed for resisting the claim of the royal supremacy.

maining unmarried, and without heirs for whom to accumulate any portion of his vast wealth, he thus kept himself free from the enervating influence of domestic ease and comfort, and the dissipation of spirit which is often the concomitant of high life. In his place in parliament, in the administration of his princely estates of Woburn and elsewhere, the late lamented duke employed the means and appliances at his command with an habitual sense of responsibility which has embalmed his memory in the hearts of thousands. Woburn, indeed, throughout his career, presented an educational machinery such as might almost vie with Harrow or Rugby. Some three hundred pupils, the sons of noblemen and gentlemen, owe to its princely occupant the blessing of a virtuous education, which has sent them trained, disciplined, and accomplished, to fulfil their important posts of central or local influence and government in their native land. Others, of less distinguished birth, he brought up and sent forth to a university career. A boy of good conduct and promising abilities, of however poor parentage, was sure of being admitted into the schools supported by the duke's munificence. The almshouses established by his predecessors he maintained in a state of high efficiency.* And as to his Grace's more immediate and personal charities, it is enough to state that, twice every week, the poor of that part of the county of Bedford in which the Woburn estates are situate were entertained without distinction, and sometimes served by his own hand, in an almonry and refectory set apart for the purpose. The "Duke's kitchen," as it is called —a massive and substantial portion the extensive buildings—was erected under his own directions, and in close contact with the almonry; † thus serving the double purpose of providing for the numerous pupils and large retinue of his establishment, and of unweared ministrations to the poor.

We may imagine with what eloquence the leading journal would enlarge on the rare merit of such a paragon among dukes, and the blessing of any one belonging to such an Utopia as Woburn. But when, *mutato nomine, de ABBATE fabula narratur*, then

* On the south side of the same street [in Glastonbury] is the hospital or almhouse of Abbot Richard Bear, founded and endowed in 1512 for ten poor women. . . . At the east end of the street is an old chapel or cell, dedicated to S. Margaret, founded by one of the ancient abbots. In the other street on the west side of the road stands the hospital of S. John, founded, or rather augmented for ten poor and infirm people, by Abbot Michael, A.D. 1246.—Collinson's "Somersetshire," vol. ii. p. 263.

Of this latter hospital Tanner says: "An ancient hospital for poor and infirm persons, dedicated to S. John Baptist, under the care of the almoner of the monastery, which was rebuilt near the park, the allowances of the poor augmented, and provision made for a chaplain to perform divine offices, by the munificence of Michael, abbot of Glastonbury, A.D. 1246."—"Notitia Monastica," p. 475.

† The Abbot's kitchen, built by Whiting, the last abbot, is octagonal, having in the angles four fire-places, sixteen feet long. In the flat part of the roof rises an arched octagonal pyramid, crowned with a double lantern, one within the other. *In a smaller pyramid hung a bell, to call the poor people to the adjoining almonry.*—Collinson, vol. ii. p. 261.

It was in allusion (says the Rev. Mr. Warner) to this characteristic (!) feature of the conventional life [viz, good cheer and gluttony as typified by the kitchen] that some wit of modern days inscribed on a pane of glass in one of the windows of the White Hart inn, Glastonbury, the following distich on the present state of its *abbey kitchen* :—

“*Templa ruunt, sacreque domus, sed tuta, palati
Tanta fuit monachis cura, Culina manet.*”

Warner's “Glastonbury,” pref., p. xl ix.

This poetaster on glass may be just so far worth quoting, as he represents the superficial popular prejudice to which even Walter Scott (we say it with unfeigned reluctance) contributed a powerful impulse. If we were writing more than a brief notice of Glastonbury, it might be worth while to show (1) that this much-maligned kitchen was the latest of all the monastic buildings, being the special erection of Whiting himself, and therefore likely to be among the most durable part of the present ruins ; (2) that, according to the popular account, it was built with great strength, to carry out a boast of the abbot, in answer to a threat of the king ; (3) that it was less an object of spoil with those into whose hands the buildings fell than almost any other portion of them ; (4) that it might have been purposely left, as a standing sarcasm, by men whose interest and whose pleasure alike it was to show that the monks, by their relaxed and self-indulgent lives, had deserved their doom :—

. . . et mero
Tinget pavimentum superbo
Pontificum potiore canis.

We have bestowed more attention on the Abbot's kitchen than the subject seemed to deserve. Only, it is never out of place to weaken, even, a long-standing calumny. We remember being shown in Exeter Cathedral, some years ago, the tomb of an old Catholic bishop. It represented him in an upper compartment, lying in all the insignia of his high office ; then, below, the shrivelled and decayed corpse, as he would have been found had his remains been actually exposed. The moral, to a Catholic eye was obvious enough. It was simply a striking *memento mori*. But the verger who showed visitors round the building *would* have it (and perhaps his successor *will* have it to this day) that it was a bishop who had attempted an unbroken fast through the forty days of Lent ; and his corollary was the rather strangely-sounding one, “ You see, sir, what comes of trying to follow our Saviour ” ! So, we have no doubt, and equally in the interests

of good cheer, the very next pic-nic party who are ushered through the ruins of Glastonbury will be made to pause before the unruined kitchen with, “Observe, gentlemen, how fond those jolly old monks were of their dinner!”

Now let us make a sweep backwards, from Abbot Whiting, of nearly fifteen hundred years. We have seen what Glastonbury was in the days when the royal commissioners thundered at its gates; a princely monastery, entertaining kings and nobles, educating a large section of the youth of the land, owning half Somersetshire. But there is a reason for everything. Men do not go and plant themselves down in a marsh, and decree that the marsh shall be the cynosure of a great kingdom, held in chiefest honour, maintained without contradiction at home, asserted without contradiction abroad, as the place where the “beautiful feet” of the first evangelizers had stood; and therefore to be enriched with charters, lands, privileges, temporal rule, ecclesiastical pre-eminence—all that can increase its wealth and heighten its glory. They do not do all this without some definite reason. Other men do not accept it without a reason to the full as definite. Even the “dark ages” had a glimmering of good, strong, sturdy, Saxon sense, which would have received any groundless pretension to such claims with the synonym of that day—whatever it was—to our modern dissyllable “humbug.”

A reason, then, must have existed for Glastonbury as it was under Ina, and from Ina through that list of kings, nobles, bishops, the bare enumeration of whom, and of their gifts, to be found in Dugdale, would swell our pages immoderately. That reason must be adequate to account for a devotion which penetrated Saxon, Dane, and Norman alike—which held on without intermission, from the conversion of Lucius to the apostasy of Henry. The pilgrim to Croyland in its palmy days would have answered you without hesitation that he went thither to S. Guthlac. He who turned his steps towards Verulam was seeking the magnificent shrine of S. Alban. Lindisfarne was visited for the sake of S. Cuthbert, S. Edmondsbury for the martyred king of that name. So of S. Neots, S. Ives, and more places than we need enumerate. So of Glastonbury. There must be some special memory attached to it, and the name of some sainted founder.

Whose is that name?

At the outset, it must be acknowledged that the coming of S. Joseph of Arimathea, with his companions, and the grant made to them by the heathen Arviragus of the island Iniswytryn, and its surrounding “twelve hides of Glaston-

bury," has been discredited even by some Catholic historians. Lingard, in his History of England, simply ignores it, unless the second of the two following sentences may seem by implication even to exclude it. "At the distance of so many ages," he says, "it is impossible to discover by whom Christianity was first preached in the island." Then, after noticing the opinions which assign this mission to S. Peter or to S. Paul, he dismisses both as improbable beforehand, and resting "on the most slender evidence—on testimonies which are many of them irrelevant, all ambiguous and unsatisfactory." He then gives reasons for supposing the Christianity of Britain to have been derived immediately from Rome; and adds, in a note, "Nothing can be less probable in itself, nor less supported by ancient testimony, than the opinion that Britain was converted by oriental missionaries. The only foundation on which it rests is, that in the seventh century the Britons did not keep Easter on the same day as the Church of Rome."* The value of such a mere abstract opinion unsupported by document or show of proof, will be better tested as we go on.

In his "History of the Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," Lingard excludes the idea of S. Joseph more expressly. "I shall not," he says, "trespass on the patience of the reader by directing his attention to two other imaginary facts: the missionary labours of Aristobulus in Britain, and the foundation of the church of Glastonbury by Joseph of Arimathaea. No one can examine the authorities on which these statements are founded without pronouncing them at once collections of fables" (vol. i. p. 355).

Tierney, in his edition of "Dod's Church History of England," is not less hostile to the Glastonbury legend. And in opposing it, he ranges himself not only against the old Catholic historian he is editing, but against Camden, as quoted by Dod. We leave it to the reader to determine how far these writers, Lingard and Tierney, with the coldness and excessive caution they thought well to assume and to promote, can be allowed to outweigh the express testimony of such documents as follow. Tierney's coolness is rather amusing. "However, notwithstanding this authoritative assertion of Camden, the story of S. Joseph's connection with Glastonbury, like the other legends mentioned in the text, is now universally rejected."

Leland is with him in his rejection of the story, and is therefore quoted by him. "Duce quodam Josepho, sed non illo, nisi ego plurimum fallor, Arimathiano." ("De Script. Brit.,"

* "Hist. of England," vol. i. pp. 51, 52.

p. 20, in Meduino et Elvano.) Words which are, however, sufficiently important, since they throw upon the adversaries the burden of proof why a Joseph should be named as England's converter, what Joseph it was, and why it should not be the saint of Arimathæa.

On the other hand, Dod's words are express. We quote him here, though rather out of place, while we should state the opposite side, because of Tierney's comment, and inasmuch as they tend to throw light on the general run of the objections:—"The best attested account," he says, "is that S. Joseph of Arimathæa, with several companions and fellow-labourers, laid the foundation of the first Christian church of this island, at Glastonbury, in Somersetshire, as both ancient monuments, the tradition of the British and Saxon churches, and the generality of our historians, both ancient and modern, do give testimony." And what he adds is both sensible and significant, and would outweigh a greater mass of non-Catholic scepticism than we find actually to exist, against the Glastonbury legend. "Whoever was the first planter of Christianity among us (which in itself is no very material point), I cannot but take notice of the motives which have induced some writers to make choice of one opinion rather than another. Some are willing to deprive S. Peter of the glory of this work, out of a particular respect they have for his supremacy, and for fear they should become indebted to the See of Rome upon that account. The like inducement they have not to allow of the story of S. Joseph of Arimathæa; so early an instance of monastic discipline not being very consistent with the economy of our modern churches, who style themselves Reformed. They seem more disposed to give the honour to S. Paul, or any other apostolic preacher, where they do not lie under the like apprehensions."*

But greater writers than Lingard or Tierney had preceded them in discrediting the story of S. Joseph. J. Bollandus (followed, of course, by Henschenius and Papebroche) recites the account of Baronius, which we shall give hereafter, but only for the purpose of confuting it. The legend, say the Bollandists, appears so suspicious that they will not be led by it into that vexed question of the first introduction of the faith into Britain. And they refer this "fable" to the unknown author who, like a rhapsodist to the Iliad, first collected, or partly imagined, the *Gesta* of King Arthur and the Round Table, the juggles of Merlin, and the achievements of Sir Lancelot du Lac!

* "Dod's Church History of England," ed. Tierney, vol. i. pp. 2, 3.

We may forgive Bollandus and his companions for knowing little of the antiquity, the strength, and the continuousness of the tradition in England; though we can hardly be so lenient to the ponderous levity (to venture on an ὀξυμῶρον) with which they here treat it. They then proceed to speak of Freculphus Lexoviensis, an author of the ninth century, quoted by Capgrave, and maintain that in the passage cited he speaks merely of the dispersion of the disciples to preach the Gospel, without any special mention of S. Joseph.¹ This is true enough,—nor can one see why Freculphus should be particularly quoted on one side or the other. Meanwhile, the Bollandists adduce an alleged fact, which, if true, would overturn the legend at once. They say, that in the time of Charlemagne, Fortunatus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, fleeing from the infidels who were then laying waste the Holy Land, brought thence the *body* of S. Joseph to the monastery of Medianum, of which he became abbot. The place afterwards passed into the hands of canons, who seem to have borne no goodwill to their predecessors. The monks, however, returned into possession, and amid these changes the sacred relics were carried away and lost. An allegation of so much obscurity and so little proof must go for what it is worth, and may fairly be sifted by the light of other parallel cases which show the difficulty of proving relics of such antiquity. This would take us into another, though a most interesting subject,—but we forbear. The instance which rises first to our mind is that of the body of S. James the Apostle at Compostella, as against the claims of that “hand of S. James,” for the safe custody of which, as a most precious relic, Reading abbey was founded by Henry II.

Lastly, we must number William B. MacCabe among those who, with mere generalities, and without much apparent investigation, have discredited the legend. In his valuable “Catholic History of England,” he dismisses it, we must say, very superficially, on the authority of the Catholic writers we have already quoted; allowing that “one Protestant author, Camden,” saw no reason to doubt it. We shall soon see whether Camden stood alone among his co-religionists.

Strutt, in his “Chronicle of England,” asserts the early evangelisation of the island, while he rejects the story of Glastonbury :—

Amongst those things which cannot absolutely be set down in the affirmative, none appears more certain than that the enlivening ray of Gospel light first shone upon this island some time between the years of our Lord 43 and 61. . . . If ever any accounts of this important transaction were set down by the primitive Christian Britons, they were soon destroyed,

or lost in the fatal discords and unfortunate wars which followed, so that none of them have been transmitted to posterity. The fables concerning Joseph of Arimathea's coming hither and preaching the Gospel, are now exploded, as the idle inventions of the monks of Glastonbury, to give a greater air of consequence to their monastery (vol. i. part 3, c. 2).

And he then declares in favour of the theory which makes S. Paul the evangeliser of Britain.

Stillingfleet, Usher, and Collier, we shall see, follow on the same side as Bollandus. And now, except the flippant incredulity of a county historian or two, who will have nothing true that was monkish ; and except a late reverend lecturer, who has contrived to put into a few popular pages as much nonsense as we have often seen between the covers of a book, we have noticed such writers as have ranged themselves against S. Joseph of Arimathea.

Without a word of commentary, we pass on to the authors who have advocated the truth of the legend. Speed, a truculent non-Catholic writer, following breast-high the scent of the beast with seven heads and ten horns, and fulsome in his panegyric of Henry VIII. and James I., recites the story of S. Joseph with every symptom of credence. We modernize his spelling of 1611.

At which time (say they) were sent certain disciples out of France into Britain, by Philip the Apostle, whereof Joseph of Arimathea, that buried the body of Christ, was chief ; who first laid the foundation of our faith in the west parts of this island, at the place then called Avalon (afterwards Inis Witrin,* now Glastonbury), where he, with twelve disciples, his assistants, preached the gospel of life unto the islanders, and there left their bodies to remain for a joyful resurrection. This doth Gildas affirm, and Malmsbury, in his book of the Antiquities of Glastonbury, written to Henry de Blois, brother to King Stephen, and abbot of the same place, report, and is *consented unto* (for the matter, though all agree not touching the time) *by the learned antiquaries of later times, grounded on the testimonies of the best approved ancient writers*, who account the most happy influence of Christianity to have been by those glorious conduits conveyed into these remote parts of the world.—Speed's "History of Great Britain," lib. vi. cap. 9, "The first planting of religion in Britain."

Again, even in elaborating the anti-Roman argument, and standing up for the British bishops as against S. Augustine and his companions, he is strong for S. Joseph.

* The reader will observe that the two first of these names ought to be transposed ; Inis Witrin being the British name for island, Avalon the Saxon.

That these testimonies are sincerely by us produced, for the first preaching and planting of the gospel, and by such means and men as we have declared, and, particularly, by Joseph of Arimathæa and his associates, the consent of all writers, both foreign and home-bred, doth sufficiently approve ; and the reverend regard had of the place, with the many charters thereof to this day remaining, are strong inducements for those our first Apostles' residences and burials ; whereof one, exemplified under the seal of King Edward III., is to be seen at this day, reciting that the abbey of Glastonbury, being burned in the time of King Henry II., while it was in his hands, at the request of the Patriarch of Jerusalem (then present in England), instigated further both by the bishops and nobility, he did re-edify the same, causing diligent search to be made for the ancient charters of that foundation ; and, among many recited in that exemplification, in one of them it is called *Origo religionis in Angliâ* ; in another, *Tumulum Sanctorum, ab ipsis discipulis Domini edificatum, fuisse venerabilem*. Also, in the same charter, amongst many other kings, there is mention made of King Arthur, to be a great benefactor unto that abbey ; whose arms upon the stone walls, both in the chapel (called S. Joseph's), and in divers other places of the abbey, are cut, which is an escutcheon whereon a cross, with the Virgin Mary in the first quarter is set, and is yet to this day remaining over the gate of entrance, and is held to be also the arms of that abbey. This place is said to have been given to Joseph and his brethren by Arviragus, then king of Britain ; and from hence were those two divine doctors sent to Elentherius by King Lucius, as by their epithets [epitaphs ?] doth appear : the one of them called Elvanus Avalonius, or of Glastonbury ; and the other, Medwinus of Belga, that is, Wells, near unto this place. And to these persons and place, Polydore Virgil, that dwelled among us, and had perused most of our antiquities, ascribeth the original and precedency of our Christian faith, in these words : *Hæc omnia Christianæ pietatis in Britanniâ extitère primordia, quam deinde Lucius rex accedit et adauxit, etc.* And our other later writers likewise with him agree of this place ; further affirming that at first but poor, and without all pompe, was their oratory, built only of wreathen wands, as both Capgrave, Bale, Major, Scroope, Harding, Thorne, and others, affirm. Afterwards, by divers princes raised unto greater glory, with many large privileges and charters granted ; to wit, of Edgar, Edmund, Elfred, Edward, Bringwalthius, Kentwin, Baldred, Ina, Kenwal, The Conqueror, Rufus, and others ; all which were diligently perused by King Henry II., as we have said, and that Rectory (?) in these charters continually termed : *The Grave of Saints : The Mother Church : The Disciples' foundation, and dedicated unto Christ, as the first place in this land where His Gospel was first preached and embraced.—Ibid, p. 207.*

Once more, speaking of the benefactions or new foundations of Ina, king of the West Saxons, in the seventh century, he uses the following expressions. We give the passage, though it carries us further into the history of Glastonbury than we have yet gone, and is therefore partly an anachronism :—

The renowned Abbey of Glastonbury most stately he built to the honour

of Christ, Peter, and Paul . . . in a fenny place, sequestered from the roadway, where formerly had stood the old cell of Joseph of Arimathæa ; and, that being decayed, Devy, bishop of S. David's, had thereon erected a new ; which time also having ruined, twelve men well affected in the north parts of Britain had repaired ; but now by this Ina was quite pulled down, and, after a most sumptuous manner new-built : the chapel whereof he garnished with gold and silver, and gave rich ornaments thereto ; as altar, chalice, censer, candlesticks, basin and holy-water bucket, images, and pale for the altar, of an incredible value . . . besides precious gems, embroached in the celebrating vestures.—“History,” lib. vii. c. 7, p. 299.

Bishop Tanner, in his “*Notitia Monastica*” (p. 458), gives a brief summary of its history, of fifteen centuries ; beginning still with S. Joseph :—

Glastonbury, olim Avallonia.

This place is reckoned in our old historians as the most ancient Christian church in Great Britain, founded, as they say, by Joseph of Arimathæa, about thirty-one years after our blessed Saviour’s passion. Here was also accounted to have been the first regular congregation of monks, gathered, as we are told, by one of the S. Patricks, A.D. 435. This monastery was afterwards most liberally endowed by the munificence of Ina, Edmund the Elder, and other Saxon kings and nobles, and had Benedictine monks introduced by the care of S. Dunstan, A.D. 954. It was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and valued, etc.

Camden (“*Britannia*,” p. 182, by Gibson, 1772) speaks thus :—

In this island stood the monastery of Glastonbury, which is very antient ; deriving its original from Joseph of Arimathæa, the same who buried Christ’s body, and whom Philip, the Apostle of the Gauls, sent into Britain to preach the gospel. From hence this place was by our ancestors called “The first ground of God ; the first ground of the saints in England ; the rise and foundation of all religion in England ; the burying-place of the saints ; the Mother of the saints.” And they said of it, that it was built by the very disciples of our Lord. Nor is there any reason why we should call this in question, since I have before shown that the Christian religion, in the very infancy of the Church, was preached in this island ; and since Freculphus Lexoviensis has told us that this Philip “brought barbarous nations, bordering upon darkness, and living upon the ocean, to the light of knowledge and haven of faith.”

It is notable, as illustrating the decline of belief in England in process of time, and as a commentary on Dod’s remark, that Bishop Gibson, who edits Camden, throws discredit on the story, though he does not tamper with this passage, as he seems to have done with others, by interpretations.

The account of William of Malmesbury is as follows :—

Saint Philip (as is stated by Freculfus, in the fourth chapter of his second book) passed among the nation of the Franks, preached the Gospel to them,

and converted many to Christianity. Desiring to extend still further a knowledge of the true faith, he chose twelve of his disciples, each of whom he blessed by the laying on of hands, and then sent them to Britain to preach the Gospel. Philip is said to have appointed over these one who was his most dear friend, Joseph of Arimathea, the same who had laid the body of our Lord in the sepulchre.

These disciples, with Joseph of Arimathea, came to Britain in the year of our Lord 63, and fifteen years after the Assumption of Blessed Mary. They immediately began to preach the faith of Christ ; but the barbarous king and people whom they addressed, on hearing things so strange and unusual, altogether refused to yield them any belief or attention. Yet, as these strangers had journeyed from afar, and as the strictness of their lives betokened their sanctity, the king of those parts expressed his willingness to grant one petition made by them ; to assign for their dwelling-place a small island, lying on the borders of his dominion, covered with underwood, briars, and marshes. The name of this little island was *Yniswitrin*.

Later on, two other kings, who were also Pagans, taking note of the holy lives which these good men led, bestowed on each of them a portion of land ; and at their petition, confirmed by grant by such sanctions as obtained in the country. The name which attaches to the twelve hides of land belonging to the abbey, is believed to be derived from this grant.

Soon after these holy men had commenced their common life in this desert island, they were admonished by a vision from the angel Gabriel, that they should build there, on a spot designated from on high, a church in honour of the blessed and holy Virgin Mother of God. A prompt obedience was given to this command. Walls were erected of wattled osiers, and a small chapel completed by them, in the thirty-first year from the Passion, and the fifteenth after the Assumption of the Ever-glorious Virgin. Poor, indeed, it was in appearance ; but it was richly adorned with divine benedictions ; and as it was the first church which had ever been built in this land, so did the Son of God distinguish it, as of greater dignity than the rest, by directing that it should be dedicated in honour of the Virgin Mother.

The twelve holy men of whom we have already spoken, devoted themselves in this place to the service of God and of the Blessed Virgin ; for here they spent their days in watching, fasting, and prayer ; and here, we may well believe, for it accords with piety so to do, they were often aided, by and through her, in all they needed.

Thus much we have been able to learn from a letter of S. Patrick, and from the writings of the ancients, among which may be mentioned a history of the Britons, which we have seen at S. Edmond's, and at S. Augustine's (the Apostle of the English), beginning with these words :—

" On the confines of western Britain there is a certain royal island, known by the ancient name of Glastonbury ; it comprises a wide extent of territory, has streams well stored with fish, is surrounded by tranquil waters, is suited in most respects to supply the wants of man ; but, what is greater than all, and of more importance, it seems to be singularly enriched with blessings from Heaven. On that island it was that the first Catholic neophytes found an antient church of the English, prepared, as it would seem, by Heaven, for

the salvation of man ; and as time went on, He by whom all things were made, manifested by numerous miracles, that it was especially consecrated to the Virgin Mary, Mother of God."

Here it was the twelve holy men led an eremitical life for many years. In course of time all of them were taken away from this earthly prison ; and then the spot which had been the dwelling of saints became the haunt of wild animals, till at length it pleased the Blessed Virgin to bring the remembrance of her oratory back to the minds of the faithful.*

Polydore Vergil, whom Usher describes as *vir naris emuntoris* (compared with John of Tynemouth, whose account, taken from the books of Glastonbury, Usher had noticed disparagingly just before), speaks as follows :—

Joseph, a native of the city of Arimathea, who, as the Apostle Matthew witnesses, had buried the body of Christ, came into Britain with no small following ; whether by chance or design, God so willing it ; and there, when himself and his companions had preached the Gospel, and sedulously taught the doctrine of Christ, many were thus brought over to the true religion, gifted with the precious fruits of salvation, and baptized. These men, doubtless under an *afflatus* of the Divine Spirit, having obtained from the king the donation of a small space of ground (near the town of Wells, about four miles off), laid there the foundations of the new religion, where now is a stately church and a noble monastery of the order of S. Benedict. The name of the place is Glasconia.† This was altogether the commencement in Britain of the Christian religion, which King Lucius (as we shall shortly relate), fresh from the font of baptism, greatly rekindled and increased when it had become almost extinct.

And before this writer, Lepidus Bartholinus had said the same thing in fewer words.

Let us come to old Hollinshed, who says in his *Chronicles* ("Hist. of England," p. 37, ed. 1586) :—

In the days of the said Arviragus, about the year of Christ 53, Joseph of Arimathea, who buried the body of our Saviour, being sent by Philip the Apostle (as John Bale, following the authority of Gildas and other British writers, reciteth), after that the Christians were dispersed out of Gallia, came into Britain with divers other godly Christian men, and preaching the gospel there amongst the Britains, and instructing them in the faith and laws of Christ, converted many to the true belief, and baptized them in the wholesome water of regeneration, and there continued all the residue of his life, obtaining of the king a plot of ground where to inhabit, not past a four miles from Wells ; and there, with his fellows, began to lay the first foun-

* W. Malm., "Antiq. Glast." vol. iii. pp. 292, 293. (Gale.)

† A typical error, occurring more than once in printed copies from the old MSS., occasioned by the peculiar form of the letter *t*, as given by the monastic writers.

dation of the true and perfect religion ; in which place (or near thereunto) was afterward erected the abbey of Glastonbury.

We owe some apology for putting Baronius so late on our list. He mentions the tradition that S. Lazarus, his holy sisters Martha and Mary, SS. Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathaea, and Marcella, were placed by the Jews in a vessel without oars, rudder, or sail, and committed to the open sea. Then, after speaking of the providential guidance which landed them at Marseilles, he quotes a "Manuscript hist. Angl. qui hab. in Vatic. Bibliothec.", to the effect that S. Joseph proceeded thence to Britain, where he preached the gospel and died. Usher, consistently with himself and his thesis, denies the antiquity of this MS., which he contends was written in his own time and that of Baronius. But it seems plain that they who deny S. Joseph to Glastonbury, might equally withhold S. Lazarus from Marseilles, S. Martha from Tarascon, and S. Mary Magdalene from the Sainte Beaume. And we can see no antecedent improbability in the account that one of that holy and zealous company pushed onward through the "fresh fields and pastures new" then opened to them all, while others found their sphere of labour soon after the first landing. And such a supposed improbability should be overwhelming indeed, to countervail what Dod truly calls the "testimony of ancient monuments, the tradition of the British and Saxon Churches, and the generality of our historians, both ancient and modern."

As a commentary on the latter part of the quotation given above from Dod, we take the following note from Tanner's "Notitia Monastica." Tanner himself, as we shall see directly, believes—at least makes no attempt to discredit—the story of S. Joseph. Stillingfleet, he says, "contends for King Ina's being *founder* of this monastery.* He thinks here might be a very ancient church in the British times, but there is no good ground for what is said in the Monasticon and other writers, of S. Joseph of Arimathaea, S. Patrick, or S. David being ever here. And Collier, in his 'Ecclesiastical History,' vol. i. p. 8, follows him. See also Archbishop

* Whereas, on the contrary, William of Malmesbury says that Ina, following the counsels of S. Aldhelm, "granted to the monastery of Glastonbury the same privileges which Aldhelm had obtained for Malmesbury."—("Gest. Reg. Angl." vol. i. p. 49. See Maccabe, "Cath. Hist. of England," vol. i. p. 522.) This certainly does not look like a first foundation. No chronicler, however inaccurate in expression, would have failed to say that Ina founded the monastery, and granted it certain privileges ; or, that he granted them to *his* monastery of Glastonbury.

Usher's 'Antiquities of the British Churches,' chap. ii, and vi."*

Let us examine this for a moment. There might be a very ancient church here in the British times, but there is no good ground for its foundation by S. Joseph. What better ground, then, is there for its foundation by any other? What other name has ever been associated with its origin? Why did King Ina fix on a marshy spot, of which William of Malmesbury expressly says that it was *in quodam recessu palustri posita, nec situ nec amenitate delectabilis*; to erect there for the first time, according to the theory, a monastery, which he endowed with more than ordinary munificence? † Why, in doing so, was he only the first of a line of other Saxon kings and nobles? Ancient British churches, we imagine, resembled all other ancient churches in the circumstances of their foundation. They were not planted haphazard, *στοραδήν*, up and down the country; they were built over the spot of a martyrdom, or on land granted by a convert or well-wisher among the great ones of the country, or over the relics of a saint, or by designation of a miracle or revelation, or in obedience to some other special reason which defined their site. The first rude church of S. Alban's was erected on the hill where the proto-martyr of Britain suffered. The little edifice of S. Martin's, at Canterbury, is said to have arisen on the foundations of the palace ceded to the Church by Ethelbert after his baptism.‡ The first altar at Basingwerke stood there because of the fountain which sprang up

* Tanner's "Notitia Monastica," p. 458.

† King Ina gave 2,640lb. weight of silver to make a chapel at Glastonbury; 264lb. of gold for the altar; the chalice and pater had 10 lb. of gold; the censer, 8 lb. and 20 mancs of gold; the candlesticks, 12 lb. of silver; in the covers of the book of the Gospels, 20 lb. and 40 mancs of gold; the vessels for water, and other vessels of the altar, 17 lb. of gold; the basins, 8 lb. of gold; the vessel for the holy water, 20 lb. of silver; the images of our Lord and S. Mary, and the twelve apostles, 175 lb. of silver, and 38 lb. of gold; the altar and priestly vestments all interwoven with gold and precious stones.—Stevens, vol. i. p. 422, from older authorities. Tanner's "Notitia," pref. p. iii. note.

‡ At all events, the church of S. Pancras, standing between Canterbury and S. Martin's, was dedicated by S. Augustine, as the first building he set apart for Christian worship, because it occupied the site of "a temple, in which King Ethelbert while a pagan used to pray and, surrounded by his nobles, to sacrifice to demons. . . . The altar in the south porch . . . still stands there. It occupies the spot on which had been placed a statue of the king." (S. Beda, "Hist. Eccles." lib. ii. c.) In so doing he carried out the injunctions of S. Gregory, who sent him; which were, that in destroying the pagan altars and groves, he should consult for the local and familiar associations of the native mind by erecting Christian temples in the same spots.

on the martyrdom of S. Winefride. And so of other ancient examples in these islands; for the list would be extensive in England and Scotland, and overwhelming if it included Ireland. The reason of our oldest churches occupying their special locality is as definite as when we say that S. Peter's stands on the Vatican because the Prince of the Apostles was buried in a catacomb on its slope, or that the Mother and Mistress of all Churches stands on the Lateran because of the donation of his palace there by Constantine, fresh from the laver of his regeneration.

Now, S. Joseph is said to have settled at Glastonbury by the donation to him and his eleven followers of a small island in the marshy plain through which the Brue, now greatly diminished, wound its way between the Sedgemoors to Bridgewater Bay. This donation was made by King Arviragus, who, pagan though he was, was struck by the sanctity of the new comers, and became willing that they should settle within his realm. His conduct stands in contrast with that of the native prince and inhabitants of Venodocia, in North Wales, the place of their first landing from Gaul, where they were ill-treated and imprisoned. It must be confessed—for we desire to hold an even balance in weighing the *pros* and *cons* of every part of the story—that North Wales does not lie precisely on the way from Gaul to Loëgria, of which the present Somersetshire formed a part. We should like to have heard of contrary winds, the loss of a rudder, or some other cogent reason for this deviation in the course of the little band of missionaries. Yet it must be remarked that much ingenuity has been expended in determining the course of S. Paul's wanderings by sea, when “neither sun nor stars for many days appeared,” and they were “driven up and down in Adria.” And (to come back to our subject) not a few obvious coasts, promontories, and islands presented themselves, for S. Lazarus and his companions to drift to, on their way from Judea, instead of touching land for the first time at Marseilles. “There are many improbabilities,” says an immortal writer, Butler, the Anglican philosopher, “in the story of Cæsar, or any other,” which are overcome at once, if sufficient evidence can be brought to establish its facts. Let any one present his readers with the well-attested facts of S. Francis Xavier’s life and apostolate in the Indies, and withhold the amount of evidence on which they rest. What would be thought of their antecedent probability? However, this special incident of S. Joseph’s landing in North Wales is easily detached from the rest, and might have been an unauthorized addition, a marginal comment creeping into the text, a fraud on the part of some

chronicler or transcriber, or, finally, may be one of the countless truths that are stranger than fiction.

Accepting the statement that S. Joseph first touched British soil in Armorica, the treatment he received there is in accordance with every probability. His coming would have been some two years after the taking (A.D. 61) of Mona, or Anglesea, and the massacre of Druids and priestesses, by Suetonius Paulinus at the head of his legions. In the retaliation inflicted by British arms under Boadicea, while Suetonius was still absent in that distant quarter, three Roman stations, London, Verulam, and Maldon, had been taken and burnt, and seventy thousand of the foreigners and their adherents put to death by the sword or by torture. This sanguinary revolt, again, was avenged, on the return of Suetonius, by the death of eighty thousand Britons in a pitched battle, which was followed by the suicide of their queen. The vengeful feelings excited in the breast of a nation by such events are not calmed in a moment; and we may imagine the light in which a band of foreigners, arriving with strange garb and language, and from the direction of Rome, would be regarded by the worsted and expatriated Britons. Driven up, as they were, into a mountainous corner of the land, whose fair pastures, through its length and breadth, their immediate forefathers had occupied in peace, and with such memories of blood and fire still alive within them, the only wonder seems to be that the Welsh Britons did not visit their wrongs on the new comers by instant martyrdom. And there must indeed have been something in the presence of these strangers to conciliate respect and confidence, when we find the British king Arviragus disposed (as it would seem, even on their first landing near Yniswitrin) to favour them and settle them in his territory.

Speaking of the donation of Arviragus, Dugdale only mentions "a small island, then rude and uncultivated;" though the nature of the ground, and still more the names of some places in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury, would seem to indicate more than one. But what follows in Dugdale is of greater importance:—

To each of the twelve was assigned for his subsistence a certain portion of land called a hide, comprising a district denominated to this day, *The Twelve Hides of Glaston*. . . . They enjoyed all the immunities of regal dignity from ancient times and the first establishment of Christianity in this land. One peculiar privilege which this church possessed by the grant of King Canute, was that no subject could enter this district without the permission of the abbot and convent.

And so every history, whether of Somerset or of Glaston-

bury, beginning, indeed, with "Domesday Book," mentions, as a matter of course, the Twelve Hides. But the most interesting account of them is from the first of Dugdale's "Chartæ ad Cœnobium Glastoniense spectantes." It is an extract from a Latin MS. history of it in the Ashmolean Museum, num. 790. It is headed, "Of the different names of the same island, in which the said church is situate, and how it was inhabited" (fol. 6-8).

This island, then, was first called by the Britons *Ynswytryn*, that is, Glassy Island, on account of the stream, of glassy tint, that flowed around it in a marsh. It is called an island because enclosed on every side by a deep marsh, as those are more distinctly called islands that are known as situate in the sea. It is called Avalon, either from the British word *aval*, which means apple, because the place abounds in apples and orchards, or from some one named Avalon, who once bore authority in that district. Lastly, the Saxons, when they brought the country under their yoke, called it in their tongue *Glastynbury*, i. e. Glastonia, thus interpreting its former name. For *glas*, in English or Saxon, means *vitrum*, and *Bury*, *civitas*, &c.

This island has also [other] islands lying around and tributary to it, the names of which are : Bekery, called Little Ireland, where S. Brigid dwelt of old ; Ferramere, where S. Benignus once led an eremitical life ; with the island of Westhey to the west, and Godeney to the east ; called Godeney, that is God's island, because there is in it a small church of the Holy Trinity. Padnebeorge, a district bearing vines. Andredesey, or Ylond, excelling the rest of the islands for its pleasant situation. It is called Andredesey on account of a little church of S. Andrew which is there. Martinesey is another island, so called because of a little church of S. Martin in it. These islands, then, with many other places, as will more fully appear below, enjoy together the same privilege and pre-eminence from the beginning. And, taken all together, they are called the Twelve Hides.

The island district here indicated extended to the spurs of the Mendip hills ; and the names still remaining of Nyland, West Zoyland, Mere, and others, show what was originally the nature of that part of Somerset. John of Glastonbury ("Hist. de Rebus Glaston.", tom. i. p. 13) gives us other names ; as Pinnelake, The Burne, Fulebroc, Ylake, Ywere, Wynerdlake, Bachinwere, and so forth, till we almost feel ourselves over ankles in the marshes. There is one significant name amongst them, however—Abedesdiche, which we may claim to call the Abbot's Ditch or Dyke ; and to adduce it in evidence of the benefit conferred by the community on the county agriculture. The more so, as Collinson mentions "S. Dunstan's Dyke," after speaking as follows. The river Brue, he says, traverses the Twelve Hides "to its junction with the Yeo, and thence falls into the Parret, near Burnham, commixing soon after with the Channel. The soil is fenny, having been formerly

overflown [sic] by the waters of the sea, which retiring, and being excluded by sluices and sea-walls, the marshes have from time to time, by much industry, been drained and reduced to profit." — Collinson's "Somersetshire," vol. ii. p. 237.)

But we must return, and draw to a conclusion.

Usher acknowledges one thing; nay, insists on it as an important fact—"minime prætereundum." In European synods, whenever a question arose as to the dignity and precedence of the English crown as against those of France and Spain, the advocates of England used to appeal to the Glastonbury tradition. Four times especially, in the fifteenth century, this question was mooted; at the Council of Pisa in 1409, that of Constance in 1417, of Sienna in 1424, and of Basle in 1434. The arguments adduced at the second of these councils have been summed up in a special treatise;* and published by Sir R. Wingfield, the "orator" (technically so called) sent by Henry VIII. to the Emperor Maximilian. Usher had also seen it in two MS. copies; one in the King's Library, the other (once belonging to Cardinal Bembo) in the collection of Sir Henry Wotton. It was in the 30th session of the Council that the question was mooted: "Is it right and reasonable that the kingdom of England should rank with that of France in a General Council?" Among other allegations to prove the affirmative, it was said that—

Immediately after the Passion of Christ, Joseph of Arimathæa, a noble counsellor, who took down Christ from the Cross, with twelve companions, came early in the morning into the Lord's vineyard to dress it; that is, into England, and brought multitudes to the faith. The King assigned to them for their maintenance twelve hides of land in the diocese of Bath; and it is written that they are buried in the monastery of Glastonbury, in the [said] diocese of Bath. And the said monastery is especially known to have been endowed from ancient times with the twelve hides aforesaid. But the kingdom of France received the faith of Christ in the days and through the ministry of S. Dionysius.†

Usher proceeds to give the allegation (to the same effect) of the English advocates at the Council of Basle. It was opposed by a divine of rather formidable titles and pretensions; viz. Alphonsus Garcia de Sancta Mariâ, Doctor of Laws, and Dean of the churches of Compostella and Segovia; he, of course, advanced the claims of S. James on behalf of Spain. The

* Nobilissima disceptatio super dignitate et magnitudine regnum Britannici et Gallici, habita ab utriusque oratoribus et legatis in Concilio Constantiensi. Lovani, 1517.

† "Brit. Eccles. Antiq.," p. 13, *uti supra*.

first of his four points is the only one which is much to our purpose. It is a point-blank denial that S. Joseph ever came to England at all; and rested on the absence of any "history or authentic writing" which could be adduced for it.

The reader, we think, will be at no loss to account for this absence, if he reflects on the wholesale mutual destruction of Romans and Britons, and the subsequent desolation of the whole land by the invading Saxons.* Documents would not be spared when the blood of man was shed in torrents; and the more terse and summary the records of that early period, the more easily would they lie within the grasp of the spoiler. To us, the visit of the British S. David and seven of his suffragans to the Saxon Avalon in 530, and his gift to the then monastery, of the celebrated "sapphire of Glastonbury," of which we have a very undesigned proof in the list of spoils presented to Henry VIII., is worth many documents.

"Item, delyvered more unto his maiestie the same day (XV die Maii, Ann. XXXI—vide *supra*) and of the same stiffe, a superaltre, garnished with silver and gilt, and parte golde, called the greate Saphire of Glasconburye."—Dugdale, in Glast. Append. num. 140.

Henry de Blois, nephew to Henry I., who from a Cluniac monk became Abbot of Glastonbury, has left a writing which his friend, William of Malmesbury, has prefixed to his own treatise on the place. In this the abbot details the decayed condition of the abbey on his first coming to it. In illustration of this, Adam de Domerham ("Hist. de Reb. gestis Glastoniensib.", ed. Hearne, p. 309) says that Henry de Blois found the "sapphire" given by S. David, which had been concealed for fear of spoliation during the long wars, in a doorway of the Church of the Blessed Virgin, and that he adorned it with gold, silver, and precious stones:—"sicut adhuc appareat, magnifice decoravit."

He also gave to Glastonbury the church of Pukelschurche, that its revenues should always maintain a wax-light "in ecclesiâ universalis Dominae Sanctæ Mariæ, quæ, ob antiquitatem sui, antiqua ecclesia, vulgo EALDE CHURCHE, dicitur."

There is no assignable reason for the visit or the offering, if what the chroniclers say be a mere "monkish legend." On the whole subject we should like to compare, in all their breadth, the mere external proofs of S. Joseph's coming to Iniswytryn with the mere external proofs of S. Patrick's coming to Ireland.

* See S. Bede, "Hist. Eccles.", lib. 1, c. 6, § 15; c. 13, § 32; Gildas, Hist. § 11, 20; "the lamentations of the Britons to Aetius," &c.

Let us endeavour to state the argument in the most matter-of-fact way.

There is a spot in England, remarkable for two things, at least: a primæval tradition and a primæval tenure. The tradition is, that this spot was the first in the island to receive the light of faith. The tenure is that of twelve portions of ground, immemorially exempt from all burden, and endowed with special privileges. Both these, the Glastonbury tradition and the Glastonbury tenure, ascend beyond any documents existing in the country. When Christianity is restored, after a century of decay, the new missionaries, who bring it from Rome, come to this spot, uncentral as it is, and attracting them by no natural advantages. They are led thither by no apparent motive, except that tradition had always pointed it out as *the* spot where the faith first shone in Britain. They are said to have pursued there a search which had no assignable meaning, unless they believed the tradition; to have discovered, not only marks of the decayed Christianity, but relics pointing to one individual; and to have petitioned the king who invited them over, to renew in their favour the original grant made to that individual and his followers, of the twelve portions of land. What is more certain is, that some four centuries after this traditional event, S. David, accompanied by seven of his suffragan bishops, came to the spot, not only to venerate it, but to add to the ecclesiastical buildings already there. This new foundation he gifted with a super-altar of sapphire, stated to be "of inestimable value," known thenceforward as "the sapphire of Glastonbury," and remaining in the abbey as one of its chief treasures, until the dissolution, when it is expressly named in the list of jewels transferred to the King. Again, some seventy years after, the third evangelisation of the country, now become Saxon, took place under S. Augustine and his companions from Rome. The legate turns his eyes to Glastonbury, and takes measures to erect it into a yet more regularly constituted society. From this time we have an unbroken history of gifts and privileges poured on the place by Saxon kings and nobles, until the desolation of the country by the Danes. Out of that desolation it is raised by King Edmund, and under S. Dunstan becomes a Benedictine abbey.

Now, from the period of its becoming Benedictine, there is only one name, and that the same as in the earlier notices, mentioned as the original founder. But, as our opponents join issue as to the earlier proof, we continue our argument.

A marshy, therefore (in its then state) nearly useless tract, is said to be given by a heathen king to a Christian missioner. Is there anything improbable here, *à priori*? He respects

him enough to allow him to settle in his territory; yet he is not disposed to be so generous as to assign to him the fat of the land. But there is the further detail already mentioned, and remaining to be disposed of by those who deny the story. The missioner stated to have come is stated to have been accompanied by eleven companions. Twelve portions of land are said, therefore, to have been given them. Those twelve portions have existed, and been privileged, from time immemorial. Now, they who object to the name always associated with these transactions are bound to furnish us with another. And he must be one who shall be accompanied by just so many companions as shall account for the twelve hides of Glastonbury. But there is absolutely no such name even hinted at. It is not that we have to balance probabilities between two claimants. Apostles and apostolic men are mentioned, with various degrees of likelihood, as having preached the faith in Britain before the time of Lucius. But, as to Glastonbury, "the fountain and origin of all religion in the realm of Britain," it is *aut Joseph, aut nullus*.

Moreover, by the time the place has become Benedictine, if not before, motives may be assigned which would make the existing community anxious to trace for themselves another origin. Writers who would make out the "monkish historians" and monks in general to be compounds of fool and knave in various proportions, may rest assured that, when they once took to forgery with the hearty good will attributed to them, they would have forged a legend dated, not from Jerusalem, but from Rome. To bring in S. Joseph gratuitously would have strengthened the cause of the British synod at Benchor. S. Joseph embarks at Joppa, and lands at Marseilles. Had he touched at Ostia or Puteoli, he would have found the first Pope in prison, would probably have been refused an interview by the guards, and have failed in gaining from him any mission or jurisdiction. It seems, then, a certain *ignoratio elenchi* which has withheld Usher, Stillingfleet, and the rest from wielding this topic of the coming of oriental missionaries,* as they have wielded the Council of Jerusalem, and the part taken there by S. James. We might have

* Thus, Dr. Lappenburg, of Hamburg:—"The agreement of the British with the Eastern churches respecting the celebration of Easter, shows a conformity most satisfactorily, perhaps, to be accounted for by the supposition of an historic basis for the several legends respecting the preaching of the doctrines of Christ by oriental apostles. It is even probable that the first tidings of the new faith did not come from Rome, where it was still under oppression, but rather from one of those congregations of Asia Minor," &c.—"History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings," vol. i. p. 48.

expected them to do their best to fix S. Joseph at Glastonbury; just as their co-religionists have made the most of the remarkable groups of seven churches up and down Ireland, as betokening an Asiatic origin for the Christianity of the island.

False traditions, after all, are not of such easy manufacture at any given period of time. Doubtless, the further we recede backwards from the discovery of printing, the easier it becomes to palm a forged document on the ignorant or the unwary. Doubtless, also, there has always existed in men of more zeal than discretion, and more local or family partiality than conscience, a tendency to frauds, miscalled pious. A remarkable instance of such a forgery, dictated by erring devotion to an apostle and evangelist, but so important that it involved the degradation of the ecclesiastic who perpetrated it, is given by S. Jerome. Another, nearer to our subject, is to be found in Dugdale, in the shape of a charter of S. Patrick, which is doubtless interesting in itself, and might be applied, with considerable modifications, to a namesake of the great Apostle of Ireland. It never, in our judgment, could be other than an unjustifiable attempt to add to the glories of Avalon, those of the spiritual father of an entire nation, whose relics, with those of SS. Brigid and Columba, most undoubtedly rest in the now desecrated cathedral of Down.* But this particular point comes invested with its own interest, and we hope to return to it in a future page. Meanwhile they who suppose the early centuries of the Church in England to have been a gape to swallow every improbable or unfounded monkish fiction, show no very clear perception of the degree in which human incredulity has ever risen up to question what was not of faith. Disbelieving, as non-Catholic writers and theorists do, the mysteries of that revelation of which they accidentally receive disjointed fragments, they have inevitably lost the distinction between divine and human traditions. Their historical acumen has thereby suffered, no less than more important mental and spiritual faculties. There were other and rival orders (the Cistercians, say) rising into importance, while the Glastonbury account was being embodied in document after document: how is it

* Roger de Hoveden, who had no interest one way or the other, records ("Annal." pars post Hen. II., p. 561, ed. Savile): "Prædictus autem Johannes de Cerci, ante Purificationem S. Marie, obedit et cepit civitatem de Dun, quæ est caput Bluestre, ubi etiam requiescent corpora sanctorum Patricii, et Columbe confessorum, et S. Brigidæ virginis." And so the old distich:

"Tres sancti in Duno tumulo tumulantur in uno;
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius."

that on their part no voice is ever raised against it? William the Conqueror we take to have been not precisely a man of over-credulous mind or over-timorous conscience, prepared to accept for gospel whatever was spoken under a cowl. Yet we read that, on taking possession of his dominion, *visis et cognitis cartis ecclesiae Glastoniæ*,* he granted to them certain lands in perpetuity. He was likely to have been surrounded by eyes as sharp as his own, and more accustomed to the examination of documents; and men who surround a king, in the eleventh century, as in the sixteenth, are ready enough to gain the royal favour by the exposure of frauds, real or supposed, which they might allege had been palmed on his predecessors. Yet the credit of Glastonbury then rested on the tradition of S. Joseph; and the fierce Norman confirms it.

To come latter; is not the motive which may easily have biassed such writers as Usher and Stillingfleet to cast discredit on the story, sufficiently obvious? Old Dod has already given it to us, in his plain, common-sense way: "So early an instance of monastic discipline was not very consistent with the economy of our modern churches, who style themselves reformed." Besides, there was the latent dislike of anything which came to them through a monastic chronicle. *Odisse quem læseris* is, unhappily, a deep-seated principle in human nature. A spiritual descendant of Henry VIII. was not likely to lend a willing ear to the accounts of those whom the father of the schism had dispossessed with equal injustice and cruelty. It is not necessary to assume this bias to have been conscious or permitted; it becomes a moral fact of yet deeper significance if we suppose it otherwise.

And so we arrive at our conclusion. The grounds on which the coming of S. Joseph is denied, appear to us without weight, as against the strong reasons for supposing the Glastonbury legend true.

This hasty and imperfect sketch has left much interesting matter untouched; as, Glastonbury under S. Patrick, though not the Apostle of Ireland; and, again, in the time of S. David, S. Dunstan, and others. In truth, the interest attaching to this spot is pre-eminently great. Its undoubted antiquity, and that apostolic origin which we hope has not been unfairly claimed for it; its treasures of learning and reputation for sanctity; the wide spread influence for good which accompanied its long career, and the act of martyrdom that closed it; these are elements constituting a special regard which distinguishes Glastonbury above our other

* See his charter, given in Dugdale, Append. num. X.

mitred abbeys, whose ruins are so beautiful to the eye and so oppressive to the soul. We hope to return to it in a future number, and to fill in some details which are here necessarily left in mere outline. Meanwhile, we would suggest how many similar avenues of research lie open, interesting not only to the antiquarian, but to every English Catholic, nay, every Englishman whose intelligence and heart are open to the influences of the past. Dugdale, Tanner, and the earlier monastic chronicles to which their references point the way, afford a rich mine in which the materials of Catholic topography and religious history lie ready to hand. We may trust, then, to see this present attempt on behalf of Glastonbury surpassed by some systematic and exhaustive notice of S. Alban's, S. Edmondsbury, Croyland, and half a dozen more.

ART. V.—FEMALE LIFE IN PRISON.

Memoirs of Elizabeth Fry. By her Daughters.

Female Life in Prison. By A PRISON MATRON.

Memoirs of Jane Cameron. By the same.

Prison Portraits. By the same.

Report of the Eagle House Refuge for Catholic Female Prisoners.

Life of the Marchesa Giulia Falletti di Barola. By SILVIO PELLICO.
Translated by LADY GEORGIANA FULLERTON.

WE men of England account ourselves in all simplicity a humane and kindhearted people, and it is therefore a problem somewhat difficult of solution, why we have been wont from time to time to tolerate cruelties seldom paralleled in countries where the estimate of human life and the horror of violence and bloodshed is lower and less intense than our own. It would seem that John Bull's habitual respect for law and order leads him to take for granted that, in our social system, *whatever is, is right*, and to extend the benefit of the legal fiction, that *the king can do no wrong* to whatever emanates from the supreme authority of the state, whether it be written on the pages of our statute-books or living in the administration of our prisons and workhouses. And so the nation passes on, thanking God that it is not like other nations, while some festering sore which is preying on its very vitals is left to be discovered and bound up by the hand of some good Samaritan like Elizabeth Fry.

When that loving and heroic woman was locked up with her Bible in her hand amidst the degraded and unsexed women who were huddled together in filth and wretchedness on the bare floor of their prison-house, two evils in our social system were crying aloud to God for vengeance,—the reckless waste of human life by the application of capital punishment to crimes simply affecting property, such as forgery, horse-stealing, sheep-stealing, and again the callous disregard of the physical sufferings and moral pollution consequent upon the then existing state of our prisons. Not fifty years had passed since Howard had fallen plague-stricken on the shores of the Black Sea. He had travelled 13,000 miles on his pilgrimage of love through France, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, and Germany; everywhere he had found suffering and abuses, but none to equal what he had witnessed in England. One exception to the general picture of misery and misrule he met with, and, albeit a Protestant and a dissenter, he freely and faithfully recorded it, bearing willing testimony to the admirable state of the Roman charities under the Pontificate of Pius VI. Howard's book on the *State of Prisons* has been said to have effected a reform in the prison discipline of the civilized world; yet, marvellous to say, the British public had fallen asleep again after the effect of his stern and startling lesson had worn away. Thumbscrews and torturing scull caps, such as he had found in our prisons, were no longer in use, yet the state of the women's wards in Newgate when Elizabeth Fry first visited them in 1813, seems scarcely credible in a Christian and civilized nation. Her visit and the occasion of it are simply recorded in the narrative of her life:—

Four members of the so-called Society of Friends, all well known to her, visited some persons in Newgate who were under sentence of death. Their representations of the destitute condition of the female prisoners first induced her to visit them with a view of providing them with necessary clothing. At that time all the female prisoners in Newgate were confined in the part afterwards occupied by those awaiting trial. The larger portion of the quadrangle was then used as a state prison. The partition wall was not of sufficient height to prevent the state prisoners from overlooking the narrow yard and the windows of the two wards and two cells of which the women's division consisted. Into these four rooms, comprising about a hundred and ninety superficial yards, nearly three hundred women with their numerous children were crowded, the tried and the untried, the guilty of misdemeanours or of felony, without classification, without employment, and with no superintendence by night or day but that of a man and his son. Destitute of sufficient clothing, for which there was no provision, in rags and dirt and without bedding, they slept on the floor, the boards of which were in part aised to supply a sort of pillow. In the same room they lived, cooked, and

washed. With the proceeds of their clamorous begging from any stranger who might venture among them the prisoners purchased spirits, which were openly drunk from a regular tap in the prison. The ear was constantly assailed by most terrible language, and beyond what was absolutely necessary for safe custody little restraint was imposed on their communication with the exterior world.

Military sentinels were posted on the leads of the prison, but such was the lawlessness pervading the women's quarter that the governor himself was reluctant to enter it, and advised the ladies to leave their watches in his house lest they should be snatched from their sides.

Mrs. Fry entered this chamber of horrors accompanied only by one lady, a sister of Sir T. F. Buxton. What she then witnessed sank deeply into her heart, although she attempted nothing more at the time than to supply the most destitute with clothes. A vivid recollection of the green baize garments, and the pleasure of assisting in their preparation, is still retained in her family. She carried back to her home and into the midst of far other interests and duties a lively remembrance of all that she had seen, which within four years from that time gave rise to the systematic efforts for ameliorating the condition of these poor outcasts which were eventually rewarded with so large a measure of success.

Let it not be forgotten that amongst these hopeless ones were many who had entered that abode of sin and misery comparatively innocent—wives, mothers, and maidens—whose one crime had been committed (it may be) to save some life dearer than their own. Condemned by the fearful laws of those days against forgery, and other offences of the like kind, to the same fate with the murderer and the infanticide, and exposed by the mal-administration of those laws to the contamination of their companionship, the too probable destruction of the soul was thus added to the death of the body; and, more horrible still, innocent children were shut up in this den of sin and misery, with their guilty or unhappy parents. We read of a mother surrounded by her seven children awaiting the birth of the eighth to undergo the sentence of death for forgery, under which her husband had already suffered.

For these unhappy victims, thus perishing at their very door, no voice, as yet, of statesman, philanthropist, or orator had been uplifted to plead. The impassioned and indignant eloquence of Burke had made the House of Commons thrill at the tale of the far-away wrongs of the Princesses of Oude. The persuasive accents and patient perseverance of Wilberforce were winning their way, year by year, to the heart of England, and wearing away, link by link, the fetters of the negro slave. But for these unhappy beings no word as yet had been spoken. Like the victims of some wicked enchanter,

they were doomed to wear their hideous and brutal form until some benign being should recall them to humanity by the kiss of a sister's lips and the love of a Christian's heart.

Now wist I of a woman bold,
Who thrice my brow would sign ;
I might regain my native mould,
As fair a form as thine.

No one certainly would seem less to answer to the description of a *woman bold* than the gentle and naturally timid and sensitive being by whose agency so arduous a work was to be effected. It is, however, a remarkable fact that with very few exceptions the women who have received a mission to do great things either for God or man have been essentially feminine, and often even naturally fearful. This was the characteristic in no ordinary degree of her who worked so marvellous a reformation in our prison system.

Elizabeth Fry was descended on both her father and mother's side from ancient Norman houses. The name Gournay or Gurney, well known in Norfolk from the days of William Rufus, is derived from the town of Gournay-en-Brai, in Normandy. Her mother was a descendant of the Barclays of Ury, in Kincardineshire, and granddaughter of Robert Barclay, the well-known apologist of the Quakers. John Gurney, a Norwich merchant, joined that sect soon after its foundation by George Fox, and thus, by many generations on both sides, Elizabeth was an hereditary member of the so-called *Society of Friends*. Very different, however, were the members of the circle which graced the refined and literary home of the Gurneys of Earlham from the fervent and fanatical companions of George Fox. The fervour had cooled down with the fanaticism, and the children of those who accounted themselves to be the especial and privileged dwelling-places of the Holy Ghost had come not only doubtfully to inquire whether there be any *Holy Ghost*, but to the utter disbelief of the great doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, the name of which their fathers had rejected because they found it not in the Bible. The great body of educated Quakers had sunk to the level of mere natural religion, and were ready without a shock, and almost without a consciousness, to receive the Deism and even Atheism which loaded the air, then heavy with the pestilential vapours of the French Revolution. Notwithstanding the care taken by Mrs. Gurney of her children's religious training, Elizabeth's mind was deeply affected by these evil influences, and it was from this dead level of scepticism that she eventually rose by painful and persevering

efforts to the measure of Christian faith and the energy of Christian love which she eventually attained.

The history of her mental and spiritual conflicts traced by the hand of her daughters, disfigured as it is by the phraseology of her sect, is deeply interesting, but would be out of place in this short sketch of her prison work.

In some notices of her early childhood written by her own hand we find traces of the exceeding sensitiveness, timidity, deep and tender affections, and thorough conscientiousness which distinguished her character throughout the course of her after-life :—

My earliest recollections are, I should think, soon after I was two years old. My father at that time had two houses : one in Norwich, and one at Bramerton, a sweet country place, situated on a common, near a pretty village. Here, I believe, many of my early tastes were formed, though we left it to reside at Earlham when I was about five years old. The impressions then received remain lively on my recollection, the delight in the beauty and wild scenery in parts of the common—the trees, the flowers, and the little rills that abounded on it ; the farm-houses, the village school, and the different poor people and their cottages. Here, I think, my great love for the country, the beauties of nature, and attention to the poor began. My mother was most dear to me, and the walks she took with me in the old-fashioned garden are as fresh with me as if only just passed ; and her telling me about Adam and Eve being driven out of Paradise. I always considered it must be just like our garden at Bramerton. I remember that my spirits were not strong ; that I frequently cried if looked at, and used to say that my eyes were weak ; but I remember much pleasure, and little suffering or particular tendency to naughtiness, up to this period. Fear about this time began to show itself—of people and of things. I remember being so much afraid of a gun, that I gave up an expedition of pleasure with my father and mother because there was a gun in the carriage. I was exceedingly afraid of the dark, and suffered so acutely from being left alone without a light after I went to bed, that I believe my nervous system was injured in consequence of it. Also I had ~~st~~ great a dread of bathing (to which I was at times obliged to submit) that the first sight of the sea, when we were as a family going to stay by it, would make me cry. Indeed fear was so strong a principle in my mind as greatly to mar the natural pleasures of childhood.

She speaks also of her exceeding reserve :—

This reserve made me little understood and thought very little of, except by my mother and one or two others. I was considered and called very stupid and obstinate. I certainly did not like learning, nor did I, I believe, attend to my lessons, partly from a delicate state of health that produced languor of mind as well as body ; but I think having the name of being stupid really tended to make me so, and discouraged my efforts to learn. My natural affections were very strong from early childhood, at times almost overwhelmingly so ; such was the love for my mother that the

thought that she might die and leave me used to make me weep after I went to bed, and for the rest of the family my childlike wish was that large walls might crush us altogether, that we might die at once, and thus avoid the misery of each other's death. I seldom, if I could help it, left my mother's side. I watched her when asleep in the day with exquisite anxiety, and used to go gently to her bedside to listen, from the awful fear that she did not breathe. My imagination was lively, and I once remember, and only once, telling a real untruth with one of my sisters and one of my brothers. We saw a light one morning which we represented far above the reality, and upon the real thing being shown to us we persisted in our original story.

My mother (she says), as far as she knew, trained me up in the love and fear of God, and I now remember the strong religious feeling with which I used to sit in silence with her after reading the Scriptures and a psalm before we went to bed. I have no doubt that her prayers were not in vain in the Lord. She died when I was twelve years old ; the remembrance of her illness and death is sad even to the present day.

In the two years which followed, these religious impressions seem to have faded away :—

At fourteen (she says again), I had very sceptical or deistical principles. I seldom or never thought of religion, but altogether I was a negatively good character. Having naturally good dispositions, I had not much to contend with, but I freely gave way to the weaknesses of youth. I was flirting, idle, rather proud and vain till the time I was seventeen, when I found I wanted a greater and better stimulus to virtue, as I was wrapt up in trifles.

In her early girlhood Elizabeth Gurney fell, we are told, for a time under the influence of a Catholic friend of her father's, which had a beneficial effect upon her mind, so far as to stimulate her to higher aspirations and deeper conscientiousness than she witnessed in those around her. For some unexplained reason this gentleman does not seem to have attempted to instruct her in the Catholic faith. The singular freedom from sectarian bigotry and prejudice apparent in her diary and letters probably arose in no slight degree from her early respect for this Catholic friend. Her friends, perceiving the struggle going on in her mind, recommended her to read various religious books, but she said that till she felt the want of religion herself she would read nothing of the kind. "If I ever felt such a want," she says, "I would judge clearly for myself by reading the New Testament, and when I had seen for myself, I would then see what others said."

This *seeing for herself* ended, as might have been expected from the influences which surrounded her, in the adoption of the peculiar tenets and practices of the more religious portion of the sect to which she had always nominally belonged, and

in her becoming what is quaintly termed *a plain Friend*. Her brief career of gaiety did not extend beyond the age of eighteen, at which time she is said to have been exceedingly attractive. Her journal bears witness to her enjoyment of dancing, especially when honoured with the hand of a royal duke as her partner,* and to the supreme gratification of watching the Prince of Wales, then said to be the first gentleman in Europe (alas for Europe if the saying were true), through the whole duration of a concert at the opera-house. In spite of her natural timidity and delicate health, she was an accomplished and fearless horsewoman. All this time, however, the poor, for whom from her earliest childhood she had a tender love, were not forgotten. Many hours daily were given to the visiting of the sick and to the instruction of the village children, and her journal bears frequent testimony to her conscientious struggles with the feelings of vanity and worldliness excited by the pleasures in which, half against her convictions of duty, she indulged. Her affection for her family and her sensitive fear of giving them pain by taking a line different from their's, long held her back; but gradually the change was effected which marked in her eyes, and in the eyes of those among whom she lived, the giving up the world for God. Dancing and music were laid aside, the scarlet riding habit was exchanged for the sad-coloured gown, and the fair and flowing hair which was one of her chief personal attractions, was gathered up under the quiet Quaker's cap.

At twenty Elizabeth Gurney became the wife of Joseph Fry, a member of a family distinguished through many generations for *plain Quakerism*, in which, instead of being accounted, as in her father's house, the most serious, she was held to be the most worldly element of the party. In the diligent and conscientious discharge of her duties as a wife, a mother, and a mistress of a family, she spent the years which intervened between her marriage and the beginning of her labours in Newgate. It had been predicted of Elizabeth Gurney in the first days of her religious change by a great authority in her sect, a certain *Deborah Darby*, that she should one day be "a light to the blind and feet to the lame." Whatever relation these words may be supposed to bear to her public ministrations in the meeting-houses of the *Friends*, they may be fitly applied to her labours amongst the poor outcasts to whom so great a portion of her time and so large a measure of her love were devoted.

Her work at Newgate really began with her second visit,

* The Duke of Gloucester, then quartered at Norwich.

about Christmas, 1816, when she was at her own request left alone amongst the women for some hours. She read to them the parable of the *Lord of the Vineyard*, and made a few simple observations on the labourers called at the eleventh hour, and on Christ having come to save sinners, even such as had wasted the greater part of their lives. Some asked *who Christ was*; others feared that their day of salvation was passed.

The children, who were almost destitute of clothes, were pining for want of proper food, air, and exercise. Mrs. Fry particularly addressed herself to the mothers; and, pointing out to them the grievous consequences to their children of living in such a scene of depravity, she proposed to establish a school for them, to which they acceded with tears of joy. She desired them to consider the plan well; for, without the prospect of their steady co-operation, she would not, she said, attempt it. She left them to select a governess from among themselves. On her next visit they had chosen as schoolmistress a young woman named Mary Connor, who proved eminently qualified for her task. She had been recently committed for stealing a watch; and became one of the firstfruits of Christian labour in that place: she was assiduous in her duties, and was never known to infringe one of her rules. A free pardon was granted her about fifteen months afterwards; but this proved an unavailing gift, for a cough, which had attacked her a short time previously, ended in consumption. She displayed during her illness much patience and quietness of spirit; "having, as she humbly believed, obtained everlasting pardon and peace through the merits of her Lord and Saviour." Mrs. Fry's proposals received cordial approval from the Sheriffs of London, and the chaplain and governor of Newgate, although they considered the experiment almost hopeless. An unoccupied cell was appropriated for the schoolroom, in which Mrs. Fry, with her friend Mary Sanderson and the poor prisoner Mary Connor, opened a school for the children and young persons under twenty-five years of age. They were obliged, from want of room, to exclude many of the women, who earnestly begged to be admitted. Mary Sanderson, who then visited a prison for the first time, thus described the scene before her to Sir T. F. Buxton:—

"The railing was crowded with half-clothed women, struggling together for the front places, and begging with the utmost vociferation." She felt as if she were going into a den of wild beasts, and shuddered when the door closed upon her, and she was locked in with such a herd of desperate companions. In the April of 1817 the wife of a Protestant

clergyman and eleven members of the Society of Friends formed themselves into an association for the improvement of the female prisoners in Newgate. The object they had in view is stated to have been "to provide for the clothing, instruction, and employment of the women, to introduce them to a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and to form in them as far as possible those habits of order, sobriety, and industry which may render them docile and peaceable while in prison, and respectable when they leave it." In order to ascertain how far the women would submit to the restraints which must necessarily be laid upon them, they were assembled one Sunday afternoon in presence of the Ordinary, the Governor, the Sheriffs, and the ladies, and were asked by Mrs. Fry whether they were willing to abide by the rules which it would be necessary to establish amongst them for the accomplishment of the object so much desired by them all. The women with one consent assured her of their determination strictly to obey them. The Sheriffs addressed them to express their approbation of the plan. One of them, as he left the room, said to Mrs. Fry and her companions, "Well, ladies, you see your materials."

The successful result, worked out of these unpromising materials, may in great measure be attributed to the instinctive tact and quick observation of character possessed by Mrs. Fry; but far more, we believe, to the large amount of hope and charity which she brought to bear upon the most apparently hopeless and reprobate. She never despaired of any; she believed the best of all, and consequently she treated all with a real respect and confidence which excited them to deserve her good opinion, and roused within them a long-lost sense of responsibility and a long-forgotten sentiment of self-respect. She began, as we have seen, by consulting them on the measures to be pursued for their benefit, and got them to side with her in the conflict with their evil habits and besetting temptations. Of the influence which she had obtained over the female prisoners in Newgate before the end of the first twelve months of her labours among them she spoke thus on her examination before the House of Commons:—

"Our rules have certainly been occasionally broken, but very seldom. Order has been generally observed. I think I may say we have full power amongst them. One of them said it was more terrible to be brought up before me than before the judge, though we use nothing but kindness. I have never punished a woman during the whole time, or even proposed a punishment to them, and yet I think it is impossible, in a well-regulated house, to have rules more strictly attended to." She was asked whether gaming had entirely ceased. "It had," she said, "of late; they have once

been found gaming since we had the care of the prison, but I called the women up, when I found that some of them had been playing at cards, and represented to them how much I objected to it, and how evil I thought its consequences, especially to them, adding that, if it were true that there were cards in the prison, I should consider it a proof of their regard if they would have the candour and the kindness to bring me their packs. I did not expect they would do it, as they would thereby betray themselves ; but, as I was sitting at night with the matron, I heard a gentle tap at the door, and in came a trembling woman to tell me she had brought her pack of cards, that she was not aware how wrong it was, and hoped I would do what I liked with them. In a few minutes another came up, and in this way I had five packs of cards burnt."

In the course of this examination Mrs. Fry enumerated four things which, in her opinion, were essential to the entire reformation of the prison : 1st. Religious instruction ; 2nd. Classification ; 3rd. Employment ; and, 4thly. The exclusive care of women by women ; that no man should have access to them except a medical attendant or a minister of religion. Her long experience of thirty years afterwards confirmed her opinion on all these points, and strengthened also her extreme repugnance to the system of solitary confinement.

One great difficulty in the way of the work at Newgate was to provide employment. It struck one of the ladies that Botany Bay might be supplied with stockings, and, indeed, with all articles of clothing, of the prisoners' manufacture ; she therefore called upon Messrs. Dixon, of Fenchurch Street, and, candidly telling them that she wished to deprive them of this branch of their trade, asked their advice. They at once promised to provide all the work required. A room was prepared for the workers, in which all the tried female prisoners were assembled. Mrs. Fry then addressed them. She told them that the ladies did not come with any pretensions to absolute authority ; it was not intended that they should command and the prisoners obey, but that all were to act in concert. Monitors were to be chosen by themselves to superintend the work, and not a rule would be made or a monitor appointed without their full and unanimous concurrence. For this purpose each of the rules would be read and put to the vote, and she invited any who might feel a disinclination to anything proposed freely to state her opinion. As each rule was read and each monitor proposed, every hand was held up in token of approbation.

The system was to be tried for a month privately ; at the end of that time an application was made to the corporation of London to give it permanency by making it a part of the prison system of the city. In answer to this appeal the Lord

Mayor, the Sheriffs, and several of the aldermen visited the prison; and, in astonishment and admiration at the alterations which had been effected, adopted the whole plan as a part of the system of Newgate. About six months after the establishment of the school for the children and the manufactory for the tried prisoners, the same arrangements, at their own earnest request, were made for the untried, but not with the same measure of success. These prisoners were not so much disposed to work, flattering themselves with the hope of a speedy release. Moreover, their time and thoughts were necessarily much engaged in preparation for their trial.

It will readily be believed that the frequent recurrence of capital punishments was the occasion of most severe suffering to a heart so loving and sensitive as that of Elizabeth Fry. The first case which came before her was that of a young girl condemned for the murder of her infant. Mrs. Fry, already the happy mother of ten fair children, wrestled with the despair and misery of this unhappy creature, but her health and spirits long felt the effect of the harrowing scenes which she had witnessed. A fearful entry in her journal refers to the poor woman before mentioned, as awaiting the birth of her eighth child to undergo her fearful doom. From a later entry it would appear that she afterwards obtained her pardon :—

23rd. I found poor Woodman lying ill in the common ward, where she had been taken suddenly ill; herself and little girl were both doing very well. She was awaiting her execution at the end of the month. What can be said of such sights as these?—24th. I read to Woodman, who is not in the state of mind we could wish for her; indeed so unnatural is her situation, that one can hardly tell how or in what manner to meet her case. She seems afraid to love her baby, and the very health which is being restored to her produces irritation of mind.

Another case which strongly excited public sympathy in the year 1818, was that of a young woman sentenced for passing forged notes under the influence of a man to whom she was attached. The fate of this poor girl is an illustration both of the severity of the law under which she suffered and of the charitable subterfuges often connived at by those in authority for the escape of its victims. There was a system (now but a tale of the past, and only worthy of notice as depicting the evils from which our country has been delivered) of arranging for such as were not to die, to plead " guilty to the minor count;" the bank solicitors, in conjunction with some of the Old Bailey authorities, thus selecting certain individuals for deliverance from death. For those who pleaded " not guilty," there was still the chance of some failure in evidence, or some

favourable circumstance coming to light upon the trial, besides the last hope of a reprieve. On calculating chances, therefore, the accused would sometimes decline the proffered boon and put in the plea of "not guilty," on the possibility of entirely escaping punishment. Harriet Skelton, the unhappy young woman now under condemnation, had taken this course, and having declined the deliverance offered her by the other, had thus sealed her own doom. Strenuous exertions were made by persons high in authority to save her, amongst others by Mrs. Fry's old acquaintance the Duke of Gloucester, who visited her in her cell, and vainly appealed to Lord Sidmouth and the Bank directors in her behalf. The law took its course, and she was hanged; but the notoriety of her case and the interest which it excited no doubt helped to bring about that revulsion in public feeling which seconded the benevolent exertions of Sir Samuel Romilly, and at length led to the abolition of the sanguinary laws which had so long made our statute-book a wonder and a reproach. "Newgate at that time," we read in the Memoir of Mrs. Fry, "had become almost a show; the statesman and the noble, the city functionary and the foreign traveller, the high-bred gentlewoman, the clergyman and the dissenting minister, flocked to witness the extraordinary change which had passed over the scene." From time to time the condemned cell on the female side was occupied. It was a narrow apartment with two windows, one commanding the inner quadrangle where were the tried prisoners, the other looking into a long passage with iron grating on either side, dividing the tried from the untried side of the prison, across which the convicts were permitted to communicate with their friends. Thither had Harriet Skelton been taken to pass her few and numbered days on earth, two women being in attendance upon her, according to the usual custom on those occasions. She might receive the visits of the ordinary or any friend admitted by the governor, but she was never again to quit the cell till she should leave it for the scaffold. A newspaper announcement that such a person or persons were this morning executed in front of Newgate may cause a passing sensation, but it is quickly gone. To look upon persons full of life and strength and mental capacity, and to know that they are going to die by the decree of their fellow-mortals excites another and a very different feeling. One woman the day before her execution said to Mrs. Fry, "I feel life so strong within me that I cannot believe that this time to-morrow I am to be dead!"

How little, when we murmur at pain and suffering, do we appreciate their merciful agency in gradually loosening the

hold of life and taking off the edge of the sharpness of death!

The strenuous exertions made by Mrs. Fry in behalf of the unfortunate Harriet Skelton gave serious offence to Lord Sidmouth, who had hitherto uniformly encouraged her labours, but his disapprobation does not seem in any way to have impeded her efforts, which were next directed to the amelioration of the state of the female convicts on their passage to the penal colonies. It had been a practice amongst them to make a riot on their departure from Newgate, breaking windows, furniture, or whatever came within their reach. They were generally conveyed from the prison to the water-side in open waggons, went off shouting amidst assembled crowds, and were noisy and disorderly on the road and in the boats. Mrs. Fry promised the women that if they would be quiet and orderly she and the other ladies would go with them to Deptford and see them on board. At her suggestion they were sent in hackney coaches instead of the open waggons, and formed an orderly procession, her carriage bringing up the rear. On reaching the ship on the first of these occasions she was distressed to see a hundred and twenty-eight convicts, besides their unhappy children, herded together below deck. She did her best to classify them, and to provide them with employment during the voyage. A quantity of pieces of coloured cotton were sent from the different Manchester houses in London, to supply them with patchwork, which together with knitting gave them ample employment. Bibles, prayer-books, and religious tracts were provided for them, and one of the convicts was appointed to be schoolmistress of the children. While the ship lay at Deptford, Mrs. Fry frequently visited the convicts. On the last occasion she stood at the door of the cabin attended by her friends and the captain, the women on the quarter-deck facing them. The sailors, anxious to see what was going on, clambered on the rigging, or mingled in the outskirts of the group. There was a dead silence, when Mrs. Fry opened her Bible, and in her singularly clear and thrilling voice read a portion from it aloud. The crews of the other neighbouring vessels, attracted by the novelty of the scene, leant over the ships on either side, and listened with great apparent attention. She closed the book, and after a short pause knelt down on the deck, and implored a blessing on the voyage. Many of the women wept bitterly, all seemed touched; when she left the ship they followed her with their eyes and their blessings, until her boat having passed within another tier of vessels they could see her no more. Farther acquaintance with the forlorn and neglected state of these

unhappy women on their arrival at their place of exile led to constant and persevering efforts to obtain redress, efforts which were eventually rewarded with no small measure of success.

The labours of this indefatigable woman were continued with unabated energy to the period of her death in 1845. Step by step, and year by year, did her influence widen and extend. Her correspondence embraced every part of Europe, and she visited in person the prisons of England, Scotland, Ireland, the Channel Islands, France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, and Denmark, conversing with crowned heads, ministers of state, Lutheran deaconesses, Protestant pastors, and Catholic nuns; and this when she was the grandmother of twenty-five grandchildren, and had passed through personal and domestic sorrows which never fail to thicken as the objects of affection are multiplied, and the vulnerable places of the heart are multiplied with them. Up to the last moment of her life, too, she was subject to the constitutional depression of spirits from which she had suffered in early childhood, but which, though it occasioned a nervous irritability, over which she continually mourned in secret, was never suffered to sharpen her voice, or to cast a shadow upon her brow. Not a sorrow of brother or sister, kinsman or friend, was unshared by her; never was the sick-bed or the dying struggle of child or grandchild unsoothed by her gentle touch, or uncheered by her calm smile and by the low tones of the same thrilling voice which had spoken peace and hope to so many despairing sinners. The most beautiful and instructive features of the charity of this large-hearted woman are its minuteness and its comprehensiveness. Her prisons were her chief care, not her engrossing hobby. To every evil, great or small, of human nature which came before her, she gave her sympathy, and, if possible, her aid. As, after a long illness, she sat one day at the window of her sick-room at Ramsgate to catch a breeze from the sea, her eye fell upon the lonely coastguard, pacing backwards and forwards upon his dreary watch; and a plan for supplying the long solitary hours of these poor men with books immediately suggested itself, which met with a ready support from their superiors.

Catholics cannot indeed but be painfully alive to the unfitness of the means by which she sought the attainment of her benevolent designs. To scatter the Bible broadcast amongst all the nations of the earth, leaving them to catch its meaning as they may, we see to be a wild and hopeless scheme for evangelising the world. To sit in silence within the four bare walls of a meeting-house seems to us, who have not been born, like her, to the barren heritage of *plain Quakerism*, shorn of

rite and liturgy, symbol and sacrament, a strange and stinted homage to offer to Him who made the eye and the ear, the intellect and the imagination, no less than the heart of man for Himself—so that they are all aimless and restless till they rest in Him ; but woe betide us, however full the measure of our light, or however unerring the standard of our faith, if we despise the lesson of brotherly love taught, even to priest and Levite, by this good Samaritan.

The three works named at the head of this article by a *Prison Matron* attest the fulfilment of Elizabeth Fry's earnest desire that the care of female prisoners should be entrusted exclusively to women. They bear internal evidence of being what they profess to be, the "honest reminiscences" of one fitted by long experience, keen powers of observation, and deep interest in her work, combined with great candour and truthfulness, to bear testimony on the important subject of which she treats. We are glad to find that the class of women employed in this most laborious and difficult duty is both intellectually and morally such as this *Prison Matron* affirms, and, in her own person, proves it to be.

The author of *Female Life in Prison* has evidently the education and the feelings of a gentlewoman, and the principles of a Christian ; and though she may possibly stand alone as to the high degree of intelligence displayed in her writing, we cannot doubt her testimony that "the matrons as a body are intelligent, well-educated, earnest young women chiefly from that large class which has seen better days and known better times." The fact that some seventy-eight of these are at work in the two convict prisons of Millbank and Brixton, and devoted for fourteen hours in the day to the unremitting labours of their charge, bespeaks a marvellous change from the days when "one man and his son" were the sole guardians of the terrible band whom Mrs. Fry visited in Newgate in 1816. And yet the effect produced by the improved system is disappointing. With the exception of the half-starved peasants driven into Millbank by stress of hunger, and carrying their quiet apathetic respectability with them, the greater number of the pictures sketched by the *Prison Matron*, apparently without a touch of exaggeration, exhibit a callousness and ferocity beyond the power of matron or chaplain, however kind, forbearing, and well-intentioned, to quell or to touch. When we compare the work at Millbank or Brixton with the wonderful results of the Marchesa di Barola's labours at Turin, we are not at a loss to account for the difference. We have the living Church of Christ on one hand, and a State machinery on the other. The *Prison*

Matron, as she tells us in all simplicity, is the servant of the State. Giulia Falletti was the servant of the Church. But the contrast is scarcely less striking between the influence of the *Prison Matron* and that of Elizabeth Fry. It may be accounted for partly by the wooden rules which restrict the intercourse between the matrons and their charge, still more by the different estimation in which free and paid service is held by the prisoners and by all persons of their class. They know full well that however faithfully and kindly the *prison officers*, as the matrons are called, discharge their duty, it has been undertaken from necessity, or for the love of some dear object at home for whose support they labour, not for the *love of their souls*, and they appreciate it accordingly.

Again, by the frigidity of the so-called religious teaching which the poor prisoners receive, nothing can well be drearier.

In the prison school room at Brixton the women are taught once a week in classes of fifty at a time, one mistress instructing twenty-five women. Reading the Bible in class, and a writing lesson, constitute the whole instruction given or attempted. The insubordination and utter want of decorum form a striking contrast with the mastery gained over minds of the very same class by Elizabeth Fry. Occasionally the superintendent, the deputy, or the chaplain will enter and ask a few questions as to the progress of the women. After the lull produced by their presence, the lessons and the disorder are resumed. "The time for dismissal having arrived, the schoolmistress raps the table and the women rise, when she utters the prayer of dismissal used in our churches: *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with us evermore. Amen.*"

It appears that it was at one time the practice to close the school with the last verse of Bishop Ken's evening hymn; "but the women," continues the *Prison Matron*, "with little reverence in their natures, and glad of an opportunity of exercising their voices, indulged in such vociferous bawling and such wicked additions of their own to the verse, that it became necessary to discontinue the singing." During the writing lesson some of the more artful of the pupils contrive to fill their thimbles with ink, sinking them at dinner-time in a piece of their bread, which they put by till tea-time, saying that they had no appetite then, and in the interval contrive to write letters to some of their companions. "Very little is learnt," we are told, "in these prison schools: the machinery is at fault, the lessons are monotonous, and there is no sympathy between the teachers and the taught."

To believe that the Bible read in class, as a lesson book, should ever effect the conversion of a soul, is to expect the

Word of God to work as a charm, a superstition which has never yet, we believe, been blessed to the salvation of any child of Adam. Such was not the method adopted by Elizabeth Fry. The life and death and practical teaching of our Divine Lord, as set forth in the gospels, were brought by her with a few simple words of comment before the eyes of the poor ignorant women, some of whom scarcely knew His name, and their hearts melted within them at the sight. This *Ecce Homo* from lips which adore Him as their God and worship Him as their Redeemer, ignorant as they may be of the full revelation of His Truth, has brought many and many a soul to an act of faith, and (through faith) of loving contrition ; and so far as the hearts of Protestant chaplains and prison matrons are penetrated with that devotion to the person of our Divine Lord, which enables them to set Him forth visibly before those among whom they labour, they will not fail to effect some spiritual good, spite of the dreariness of the so-called religious system which intercepts the light of the Catholic Church from the eyes both of the teachers and the taught. The matron's influence will be greater than the chaplain's, because, as a woman, she has an instinctive tact and sympathy which belongs not to a man, unless he has received it with his commission to feed the flock of Christ.

The instances of real conversion in the experience of the writer of these pages seem to be few and far between. A kind word or an expression of sympathy will call out the seemingly quenched feelings of the most apparently hardened, and excite a kind of passionate affection with its attendant frantic jealousy, but the instances seem to be few in which any real influence is attained, or lasting reformation effected.

The *Memoir of Jeannie Cameron* tells, under feigned names, the tale of one raised by the personal influence of a matron (not the author of the work) from a career of apparently hopeless degradation to live the life and die the death of a Christian. To read of such a childhood as that of this Glasgow girl, and to know that it is but one instance out of thousands drifting like her to perdition, makes the head dizzy and the heart sick. Yet the Good Shepherd has His eye even upon such outlaws of His kingdom and can bring them to Himself, as we see here, by means and instruments unknown and unthought of save by Himself alone.

After many a struggle and many a fall, the matron and the discharged prisoner parted, and the steamship brought Cameron away to the new world and the new life. She never again swerved from her good purpose, but as her new life began her old strength seemed to diminish.

At last tidings came from her kind mistress to her old matron that all further progress in this world had been arrested by Him Who had gathered the penitent to His rest. "To the last," wrote her mistress, "she was a good servant and a faithful friend; she died truly penitent for all past sins, and truly thankful for the mercies which had been vouchsafed to her."

This prison matron had had the happiness to turn this one sinner towards repentance from the darkness which had shrouded three-fourths of a life—"a happiness," adds she who tells the tale, "which made amends for all the wear and tear of constitution which the prison matron incurs by her fourteen hours' work a day."

The female inmates of our convict prisons were divided in the year 1860 into four classes, of which Millbank contained the two lowest, and Brixton the first and second. The best behaved of the women of the first class are passed on to the Refuge at Fulham, which is scarcely a gaol, but the neutral-ground between prison-life and the world. "When a matron," says our Millbank friend, "shall write her experience of Fulham Refuge it is possible that her story may take shades less deep and dark than mine. It will be a record of experience with the best class of prison women, who have been selected from Brixton for evincing some desire to walk in a different path from that which has led them to the brink of ruin. It is not to be wondered at that my chronicles have shown so little of the bright side, the best prisoners constantly and regularly passing away from our observation."

The *Prison Matron* speaks most gratefully of the assistance afforded to discharged prisoners by the Prisoners' Aid Society, which in 1860, the date of her first work, maintained a home for their reception on leaving Fulham, unhappily afterwards closed for want of funds. Its place has since been supplied by a refuge opened by Sir Walter Crofton in Queen's Square, to which Government undertakes to send, for the last six months of their term of imprisonment, those women whose conduct in prison has been most deserving.

The *Prison Matron* protests earnestly against the practice adopted by Government of making contracts with wholesale firms for work to be done by the prisoners, at prices with which no woman who has rent to pay and a house to keep can compete. In one year, for one firm alone, by one female prison, 43,728 shirts were made. "Prisoners," she says, "especially female prisoners, should do prison work, army work, the binding of the prison books; even the printing of the innumerable forms might possibly be taught them, but

any other work than that of Government should not, for the sake of those who desire to live honestly and resist temptation, be allowed to find its way into our male or female prisons."

Grievous it is to read that by the side of the felon and the murderer, whose evil career in the early days of Mrs. Fry would have been cut short by a capital sentence, are to be found those who have sinned simply and deliberately in order to secure a comfortable home for their old age. Alas! alas! that in a Christian land the poor should come to look upon a prison as their happiest refuge. Of this number was *Granny Collis*, a little, spare, pretty old woman of seventy years and upwards, making the best of everything, too well behaved and religious in her way to be a favourite with her companions, but keeping the peace with the most quarrelsome, and a great favourite with the matrons. Her little room, as she called her cell, was a pattern of cleanliness and order.

It was a curious sight in the long winter evenings to see this motherly old woman sitting with her open Bible, her thin bony hands pushing back her grey hair, as she leant her elbows on the table, and studied the promises of that book on which she built her hopes. I have often wondered what peculiar train of thought *Granny Collis* was accustomed to indulge in over her Bible, and how she reconciled her future intentions with the counsel and warning of God's Word; for, really penitent as she was for past misconduct, she clung to the idea of coming back again.

"I'll try the workhouse," she said, on parting with her friends, "but I'm thinking it won't suit me like this; it is not half so comfortable and quiet." She worked her sentence out and went her way, but in a few months reappeared, convicted of a petty theft, and sentenced to a second term of imprisonment. "I have come back to settle down for good," she said; "I know I have done very wrong, and I'm old enough to know what's right by this time, but I couldn't keep away. I've tried the workhouse, but they are so terrible noisy there, and there's not half the order there should be, and everybody wants to quarrel so; besides they don't understand my ways at the workhouse, and you are all so used to me by this time." She fell into the same old habits, read her Bible as industriously as ever, and died before the term of her imprisonment was ended.

She broke up slowly, and was removed at last to the Infirmary, where she was always patient, cheerful, and resigned. "She had wished," says the good matron, "to die in gaol, and had sinned to die there. A strange, hard, friend-

less life her's must have been, to have looked forward to such a haven of rest at the close of her pilgrimage."

One of the prisoners, a young pale-faced girl, is visited by her mother, a poor, old, tottering, decently clothed woman, who cries very bitterly at the first sight of her daughter. The prisoner bites her lips, which *will* quiver in spite of her, and burst out at last with—"Don't cry, mother, I be very comfortable; there is such a little to cry about," and asks rapid questions about home and village matters to distract the old woman's thoughts from herself. At last came,— "How did you get through the winter now?"—"Poorly, poorly, my eyes went bad again, and there was no work about, and so I had parish relief, my dear!"—"Ah! that's bad."—"I shall have to go into the house altogether soon."—"No, don't do that."—"There's no help for it, Martha; it isn't as if I had my daughter to help me in my old age."—"Don't go into the house."—"What can I do, my dear?"—"COME HERE." The old woman lifts up her hands in horror. "You will be well treated here," continues the daughter, in an earnest whisper; "you will have enough to eat and drink. You won't have any hard words here. They give you such sheets and blankets; you can have the doctor whenever you like. Oh, mother, if you would only try to come here!" The mother's countenance changes; the girl becomes more eager, and begins to suggest the best means of qualifying herself for admission, when the matron interrupts her with a remonstrance on her wickedness. "It is not wickedness," is the reply, "*God knows that it is the best thing that can happen to us poor.*"

There are (says the *Prison Matron*) amidst the mass of our fallen sisters at Millbank and Brixton, many of these strange, practical philosophers, women who have weighed all the chances between the workhouse and the prison, and who, being compelled to choose between them, strike the balance in favour of the gaol. A little less liberty, but more kindness and attention, better food, and more friendly faces, only the key turned upon them and their sleeping chamber called a cell. Step by step from Millbank to Brixton, perhaps from Brixton to Fulham, if they are young enough, books to read, good, warm clothing, and the chaplain to talk to them every day.

Throughout the long experience of the *Prison Matron*, she met with but one instance in which she saw reason to doubt the justice of the sentence which placed a prisoner under her care; the tale is a sad one, as showing the degraded and miserable state of some of our country poor. Susannah Garnet and her eldest daughter, having narrowly escaped a charge of murder, were condemned on a sentence for man-

slaughter to four years' penal servitude at Millbank, for the alleged starvation of Susannah's youngest daughter, who, it was said, having been unable from illness to complete her daily task of pillow lace, was kept without food for two days and nights by her penurious task-mistresses. This was the evidence of two other daughters at the trial. "O Lord Jesus! help me to do my work next week," were, they said, the dying words of the victim. There was a counter-statement that the daughters were actuated by malice and had sworn falsely, but it was not believed.

They came to the prison, two pitiable, emaciated creatures, in whom life seemed struggling hard, and whose chance of working out their sentence was doubtful in the extreme, passed each to a separate cell in a different ward, and parted without the slightest show of feeling.

On the prison diet they began slowly to gain strength, and their famine-struck look disappeared. They were civil to the matrons and grateful in their quiet way for a kind word, but made no inquiry about each other. Each sat in her cell, striving to work her best, and "arranging everything round her in that extra-methodical manner common to country people in general." The mother, being asked one day whether she did not wish to know how her daughter was getting on, answered,— "She is getting on very well; she be a quiet girl and no trouble to you, I am sure, lady." On a similar question being put to the daughter, she looked up quietly from her coir-picking, and hoped "mother had not been a-fidgetting." "It seems," says the matron, "that all the love, interest, and sympathy which should have existed between these simple, almost half-witted countrywomen had been frozen long ago. Their years had been spent in struggling so hard for a living as to leave no thought for home ties or home affections." When in the ordinary course the two prisoners arrived at the class in which the dreary solitude of the cell is relieved by the presence of a companion, they were allowed to occupy one cell instead of being placed with a stranger. Their first meeting was after the old apathetic fashion: "Well, Elizabeth," "Well, mother;" and two minutes afterwards they were seated opposite to each other, working together as quietly and silently as if they had parted the day before. At the end of a week the matron asked the daughter whether she was not glad to have her mother with her? "Ye—s, it's a kind of change, but" (with a little impulsive dash) "she do make a great mess and litter, to be sure." The matron was of opinion that it was the stolid insensibility of the two prisoners rather than any attempt to starve the poor child which had been the cause of the younger daughter's death. "Looking at them,"

she says, "in their quietness and simple-mindedness, I have never for a moment thought these women murderesses." Once only was a reference made by either to the past. A matron, who thought Susannah looked one day more desponding than usual, asked if anything was troubling her? "Oh, no, lady." "I thought you were dull." "I am very comfortable, thank you." "You are fretting about the length of your sentence." "I have nothing to fret about, lady. I am better off here than I was at home. We were all starving together. My husband, who was a shepherd, was very ill, and my daughters were weak, too, and we had nothing to give them; we had nothing for them nor for ourselves either, and so my daughter died. But, lady, it was not in our power to help it." She appeared a little relieved in mind by this statement, "but never," says the matron, "repeated it again. To us, who are fair judges of what is real or what is false, it seemed very like the truth." In prison they were quiet, hard-working, apparently religious women, asking no favours from the authorities, but always seeming content with their position. They served out their sentence, and, with a few short, dry thanks to those who had been kind to them in prison, went back to their old desolate home.

In the prison at Millbank, in 1860, there were 151 Catholic women, 374 of the Church of England, 23 of various dissenting denominations, and one Jewess—a fearfully large proportion of Catholic inmates. At that period a Catholic priest was permitted to see any prisoner *who might ask for his ministrations*. On this point the usual candour and common sense of our *Prison Matron* gives way under the burden of the Protestant tradition, and she wonders whether *it can be right to admit these priests*. Before the publication of her last work, in 1866, that tradition had been still farther violated by the appointment of a resident Catholic chaplain to the prison. Again, we have the prayer *to depart out of our coasts*, which marks the consciousness of a presence likely to disturb the supremacy of the mere natural order. After speaking with a considerable show of reason of the fierce controversies likely to arise among religionists, such as compose the inmates of our convict prisons, she adds:—

The remedy is simple. I can see but few objections to the institution of a Roman Catholic prison, if it be considered necessary by government that priests should be placed on an equality with Protestant ministers. As a question of prison discipline it is absolutely necessary, for prisoners—female prisoners—may be already storing up their wrongs, their indignations, and waiting the opportunities to wreak their vengeance on those who have insulted them and their creed. In the airing-ground and in the association-wards, the

bitter taunt and the blasphemous scoffing at everything that betrays an honest desire to amend, and at the means adopted for that end, must pass freely between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant, and the mine will explode in its time if these component atoms of disorder be not speedily set apart.

Let the Roman Catholic system of worship have its fair trial on the minds of Roman Catholic prisoners, but in the name of common sense, O! directors of convict prisons, and O! members of parliament, directing them by your wise laws, do not, I urge you, add more toil and trouble to your servants by placing the Church of Rome side by side with the Church of England in your prison wards, and directing them to be at peace with one another, and teach peaceful doctrines to the savage natures by which they are surrounded.

We accept these words of one who may be taken as a sample of the better sort of English Protestants as an indication of the conclusion to which we are inevitably tending, and indulge a confident hope that before long the Catholic inmates of our prisons, as well as of our workhouses, will be placed in our own hands, and given to the patient care of hearts and minds consecrated to the service of Christ. The establishment of a refuge for female Catholic prisoners, at Eagle House, is a great and hopeful step in this direction. No sooner was the Queen's Square refuge opened for Protestant prisoners, than the Catholics at the same stage of their sentence eagerly desired, and tumultuously called for, a like benefit for themselves; and under the direction of His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster, and by the persevering efforts of the Marchioness Dowager of Lothian, and a few more devout Catholics, a refuge was opened for them at Eagle House, Hammersmith, under the care of the religious of the Good Shepherd, to which the privileges granted by Government were extended. The prisoners are intended to have as nearly as possible six months of compulsory residence, and are permitted to remain in the refuge, if they choose, six months longer at the Government expense. Six shillings a week are allowed for the maintenance of each prisoner, and a gratuity of one and sixpence a week to each woman, an additional sixpence a week being paid towards an outfit on leaving. With the help of the laundry, the refuge will thus support itself, and the religious have only now to ask help to pay off the debt of £600, incurred by the erecting of the laundry and other necessary expenses. The results of the year which has elapsed from the opening of the refuge are most encouraging, though the religious anxiously desire that the term of imprisonment to be spent in the refuge may be lengthened from the last six to the last eighteen months of their sentence. "Fewer women," says the report,

"would thus pass through the refuge, but the average good that would be done would be far deeper and more lasting." The effect which has been already produced on some of the most hardened is remarkable, the respect of the prisoners for the religious habit is most touching ; they are ready, after a little while, to open their whole heart to the nuns, and a word from them will produce a practical effect which the fear of the dark cell had utterly failed to do. One instance out of many is given in the report :—

One day the mistress of the class, on counting her children, found that one was missing. Looking round, she saw that it was one whose prison character was not good, and who had been in penal servitude previous to her present sentence. Calling to her one of the *liberty children*, that is, one who was voluntarily continuing in the Refuge after she was free, the Sister sent her in search of the missing prisoner. After a long absence, she returned and said, "Mother, she is in the Dormitory, and I think you had better go to her soon, as she has torn her cap to pieces." All who know anything of female convicts would look on this as the prelude of one of those frightful outbursts of temper known in prison as a *breaking out*. The Sister had to hide every symptom of anxiety from all the quick eyes about her, and say quietly to her *liberty child*, "Go and see if you can find one of your mothers on this side, and ask her to come to me." A lay Sister was fortunately not far off, and with her the class was left, whilst its anxious mistress went to the Dormitory, at the end of which hung a large crucifix, and beneath it the poor child under temptation was crouching down on the ground. "Oh, mother," she said, "it was only close to the crucifix that I could prevent myself from smashing everything." The nun sat down by her, and drew from her what had gone wrong. Such a one had told the others that she was a spy and a tell-tale, and she could not go down to them again—she must go away ; it would be better to go back to prison. "I did what you told me, mother, that was all." She had come to the mistress of the class some days before, and said that she could not rest till she told her that this woman had been inducing her to promise to join her after their liberation, and to work together at pocket-picking. The nun told her not to sit by her tempter again, but to say, when asked the reason, that she had been warned that she was too much with this companion, and that *friendships* were not allowed in the Refuge.

The chief anxiety of the religious is, of course, to find safe and suitable situations for the poor women when they leave them. Emigration is the most complete means of escape from past evil associations. The convents of the Good Shepherd at Montreal and Philadelphia, have already received four, and the sisters also gratefully acknowledge the assistance received from the *Prisoners' Aid Society*. The greater difficulty is to find places at home for such as are more or less adapted for domestic service. Several Catholics have charitably expressed

their willingness to engage the women on their liberation. They are in general best fitted for servants of all work ; being thus less exposed to danger from the curiosity of fellow-servants, or their own outbursts of temper ; but there are some who might be safely recommended to any laundry or household. The women are discharged from the refuge on a ticket of leave, which, formidable as it sounds, is a real protection to the mistress ; for, as it is forfeited by gravely suspicious circumstances, no actual breach of the law is needed to justify the return of the woman to prison. As to the efficiency of discharged prisoners in household work, we recur to the testimony of the Prison Matron.

A woman from the Discharged Prison Aid Society or Fulham Refuge, who has been trained for several years to hard work, will do more justice to her mistress than ninety-nine out of a hundred domestic servants who, as a class (there are exceptions, of course), do not take a very special interest in their mistress's house, will not labour incessantly to keep it in order, or work overtime rather than there shall be a speck on the windows, or a spot on the boards. They do not clean, scrub, or wash as if their souls were in the work, and are not always stirring between five and six in the morning. A discharged prisoner does all these things with a will ; she is grateful to the mistress who has taken her away from temptation. I may add that many of these women are restless in mind, and must work hard to keep the dark thoughts away.

An incident mentioned in the Eagle House report reminds us of one in *Jeannie Cameron*, and is an encouragement to keep up heart and hope in dealing with these poor women.

A situation had been found for one of the women ; but it appears that she was not very considerately treated, and growing impatient, had left before another place had been found for her. She returned to London by a Thames steamer, and, unhappily yielding to the temptation of drink, she soon found herself in a den of thieves. Every effort was here made to entrap her ; but, upon the following day, whilst standing at the window, she felt the woman of the house trying to pick her pocket ; at the same time her eye fell upon some Sisters of Mercy entering a cholera hospital close by. At once she started off, and found her way down to the Refuge, where she arrived far from sober ; but from her partly coherent story the locality of the house was made out. As her box and all her worldly goods were there, it was thought advisable to send her back, accompanied by an out-door Sister, to recover it. This was successfully done ; and, as no one that had left the Refuge had as yet been re-admitted into its class, she was induced to go to the Convent of the Good Shepherd, at Hammersmith. She remained there but a few days, and the Sisters of the Refuge having at the time no other provision for her, consented to receive her into strictly solitary confinement on their own side of the house ; there she cheerfully remained for about six weeks, hearing Mass outside the chapel door, but never even speaking to the prisoners in the house.

At the end of this time, a charitable lady in the neighbourhood took compassion on her, and engaged her as a servant, and she is now conducting herself most satisfactorily, and giving every hope of a permanent reformation.

The use made of the Government allowance for outfit is sometimes very touching. One prisoner said that she only wanted a cheap dress and some other trifle for her outfit, but had one wish which she hoped might be granted. It was to be allowed to give ten shillings to the sisters of Nazareth, five shillings for oil to burn before the Blessed Sacrament, and five shillings to an Orphanage ; she also begged the Superiorress of the refuge to spend another ten shillings for some charitable object. Another prisoner on her discharge left two and six-pence in the hands of her mistress for an orphanage, to bring a blessing, she said, upon her four children, to whom she was returning.

The following summary is given of the work in the Refuge in the past year :—

The first party of seven prisoners was received March 10, 1866. Prior to the same day in the present year, 84 prisoners in all have been received : of these, 46 have been discharged. Of the 38 women in the house at the present moment, 24 have not yet undergone their sentences, and 14 are free women ; 2 of those who have left are dead ; 5 are in America (1 having gone after returning to her family) ; 2 are in prison ; 1 is waiting for trial ; 8 are in respectable situations ; and the remaining 28 (who are living with their friends) are known to be doing well.

The religious, the result of whose labours are here recorded, conclude their simple statement with the expression of—

A hope that all into whose hands it may fall may have the charity to help them in their most anxious work by their good prayers, that the promise of success, with which Almighty God appears thus far to have blessed the pious intentions of the founders of the Refuge, may be rendered effective and permanent for the salvation of souls.

While Elizabeth Fry was labouring at Newgate, Giulia Falletti di Barola was engaged in the same charitable work in the prisons of Turin. The scenes presented there when Piedmont first emerged from the French imperial sway were scarcely less horrible than those which then disgraced our English prisons. The neglect and destitution were nearly the same in both ; the profanity and irreligion even more appalling in Turin, as is ever the case in Catholic lands, when the evil spirit enters in and profanes what have once been sanctuaries of the Holy Ghost, and, it may be, living tabernacles of the Word made Flesh. It was, in fact, the sound of a terrible blasphemy which first led Giulia to set her hand to what was

henceforth to be the work of her life. One day in Easter week she fell in with a procession carrying the Blessed Sacrament to a sick person. She knelt down, when the singing was interrupted by a voice screaming from a window behind her, "I don't want the Viaticum. I want soup." Greatly shocked, Giulia turned her head, and perceived that the sounds proceeded from one of the grated windows of the senatorial prison. She went thither at once, in the idea that hunger had prompted that impious exclamation, and that an alms would remove the temptation to blaspheme. She found that the prisoner was not hungry, but only profane. Several others were shut up with him in the same dark and noisome room, laughing, singing, screaming, and behaving more like wild beasts than human beings. They seemed, however, abashed at her presence, and received her alms in silence.

She was then led to a higher story, where the women were confined. Their only light came through narrow slits in the wall far above their heads. There were as many cells on this floor as the space would permit, divided by a narrow passage, the only place for exercise, which was intersected by heavy iron bars, which supported the building and greatly impeded walking. In the course of one year two prisoners had broken their arms, and another a leg by falling over these bars. Several of these women had not sufficient rags to cover them, yet seemed to feel no shame. They crowded round their unwonted visitor, who was almost overcome with pity and horror. They threw themselves on the ground, screaming and fighting for the alms which escaped her trembling hands, and which was doubtless intended to be spent in the purchase of fresh liquor wherewith the more effectually to madden their brains.

Giulia went home with an aching heart, to ponder over the wretchedness she had seen, and to devise means for its remedy. No easy task for a young and beautiful woman in her early married life, the idol of her husband and his parents. But, as she once said of herself, she was a Christian and a Vendéenne, and she was not to be discouraged. She had grown up amid scenes consecrated by the memories of the most glorious struggle of modern days, and her girlhood had been nourished upon heroic thoughts. The castle of Giulia's father, the Marquis de Maulévrier, a descendant of the great Colbert, stands in the heart of La Vendée. (Stofflet, one of the leaders of the insurgent peasantry, was game-keeper in the family.) There she was born in 1785. Her grandmother, aunts, and many of her kindred died upon the scaffold; and her father with his three children, herself and a brother and sister, spent

many years in exile. The Marquis de Maulévrier was a man of high character and remarkable ability, and bestowed more than usual care on the education of his daughters. Giulia left him to become the wife of the Marquis Tancredi Falletti di Barola, whose piety and devotion to works of charity bespoke a kindred spirit with her own. Their union was clouded but by one sorrow ; they were never blest with children, a privation most keenly felt by Madame di Barola.

It cost her [we are told] many bitter tears, but she offered up her grief to the Mother of her Sorrows, attached herself like a mother to the children of her friends, and when she had founded her religious establishments, the homes for childhood, youth, and penitence, to which her labours and her life were devoted, a number of poor creatures, whom she fostered by her tender care and gladdened by her presence, called her by the sweet name of Mother,

which she was never to hear from the lips of a child of her own.

With a prudence equal to her energy and zeal, the young Marchesa began her prison labours by joining a confraternity of mercy originally intended for the relief of prisoners, but which had gradually declined from its original usefulness. One of the duties of its members was to distribute soup at the doors of the prisons. She then asked (at first without success) to be left alone with the prisoners. The request was at last granted, on condition that she should be locked in with them during her stay. They seemed touched at her accepting this condition, and crowded round her, protesting loudly that each and all were the victims of false accusations. The lady waived this question altogether, assuring them that her only desire was to afford them any consolation in her power. They asked for money, and she promised clothes to such as would be docile and behave well, adding a few words about resignation to the Divine Will. "Oh, she is come to preach," cried some, beginning to sing as loudly as they could to drown her voice. She withdrew with those who seemed inclined to listen into another room, and closed the door. When the singers were at last tired of screaming, they opened the door to see what was going on. She told them that she did not wish to stop their singing ; she well knew that they must want recreation, but she hoped in time they would find out that there were better ways of promoting cheerfulness than noise and clamour. By speaking always in a low voice, and in a very quiet manner, she gradually brought the prisoners to moderate their tones.

The Marchesa was often kept longer in the prison than she

intended ; the keepers, hoping to tire her out, would pretend to forget the time, but though the heat was overpowering, the prisoners could never detect any feeling of weariness or annoyance. She took care so to time her visits as not to neglect any domestic duties, and her friends, finding that neither their own comfort nor her health and spirits suffered from her labours, allowed her to continue them undisturbed. She was working alone, and very hard work it was.

The same difficulties which hampered Elizabeth Fry's early labours in Newgate, from the want of the classification of prisoners, stood in her way. The accused and the condemned were all confined together, and the restless hopes and fears of the one class interfered with the quiet attention which she might have obtained from the other. Again, as hardly any could read, she had to teach the catechism verbally, and sometimes to repeat the same sentence fifty or sixty times over to each of her numerous and noisy pupils. She afterwards succeeded in teaching some of the more diligent and intelligent to read, and then employed them to assist her in teaching their companions. "My children," she would say to them, "I try to do you good that you may also try to do good to others. You cannot give your companions everything they want; give them at least what you can. Let us help one another, and ask God to help us all. I am grateful to you for the trouble you take in order to lighten mine."

For many years past the women in the Senatorial Prison had never been allowed to attend Mass, the chapel being situated at the other side of the court, which they were not allowed to enter. At Easter a priest came to preach in their ward and hear their confessions ; at all other times they were kept wholly without religious instruction or consolation. The Marchesa begged leave to put up an altar outside the grating, by which means the prisoners were enabled to hear Mass. She was present at the first Mass which was said there ; many of the prisoners cried for joy, and told her they felt no longer the same. She spoke to them of the infinite importance of hearing Mass devoutly : "My poor children, God has always been with you, but there is no doubt that it is an immense blessing to assist at the Holy Sacrifice which He has instituted in His love for the propitiation of our sins."

Guilia's care was directed to the supply of the physical as well as the spiritual wants of the prisoners, and by her representations to the Queen and different members of the royal family, they were provided with a sufficient supply of clothing. After labouring for three years in spite of continual impediments, and at a terrible disadvantage from the

want of discipline which prevailed, the house of the *Sforzdate*, a spacious building admitting plenty of light and air, was made over to her, with permission to remove thither whomsoever she pleased. The inmates of the three prisons were removed thither accordingly. The position was healthy, and the rooms lofty and spacious, and there were means for separating the accused from the condemned. All could walk at stated times in a court, which the sun could reach at all times of the year, and to which a chapel and laundry were attached. The Marchesa now drew up a set of rules for the prisoners, each of which was framed with their own assent. Like Elizabeth Fry, she told them that she could not insist upon doing them good against their will, but that they must work together by mutual consent, she as a mother and a friend, they as obedient and loving daughters. Her labours had become so extensive as to require assistance, which she received from some pious ladies who aided her in the instruction of the prisoners. At a later period she placed the house under the care of the Sisters of Joseph, whom she had herself introduced into Piedmont.

We have already given our readers so many prison portraits that we must refer them to the memoir of the Marchesa di Barola, by her devoted friend Silvio Pellico, for the many interesting details which it contains of souls snatched by her loving hand from perdition. He has left us but a sketch, which, had he survived his friend, might have been wrought into a picture of active charity no less beautiful than that of patient suffering, which he has given us in the narrative of his own imprisonment. But she lived to write his epitaph in the beautiful words traced by her hand on his tomb in the Campo Santo at Turin :—

“Sotto il peso della Croce
Imparò la via del cielo,
Christiani pregate per lui
E seguitelo.”

It was a singular bond of friendship, cemented by Christian faith and love, which bound together the ardent Italian patriot and the long descended daughter of La Vendée, whose early royalist and aristocratic sentiments could not fail to gather strength from witnessing the evils attending the triumph of the party with which he had been originally associated.

Her prison labours formed but one portion of Madame di Barola's works of mercy. Amongst them was a refuge for penitent women, out of whose inmates a religious community

of *Magdalens*, like those attached to the convents of the Good Shepherd, was formed, and a congregation of *Oblates of S. Mary Magdalen* who, under a certain rule, waited upon the sick and performed other offices of charity within the refuge. Under the care of the Magdalens was a class of children under the age of twelve, called the *little Magdalens*, because they had, alas! even at that early age been led astray. The Marchesa was also the first to introduce infant schools into Piedmont, and it was by her instrumentality that a convent of the *Sacré Cœur* was founded at Turin for the education of the higher orders, while she founded the *Institute of S. Anne* for the training of children of the middle class and the care of orphans. One of her most useful institutions was the organization of *Homes* for girls of various trades, where they lived under the care of a *Mother* going out to work in respectable shops or factories, taking their meals at home and practising their religious duties together, while they received instruction in ordinary household work from the *Mother*. Would that some *Guilia di Barola* might be raised up among us for the salvation of the souls now daily perishing in our factories and laundries!

She lived, alas! to see the noble and Christian works with which she had endowed her adopted country swept away under the name of patriotism and progress. She was shut out of the prisons which she had reformed, and her noble and unsullied name was reviled by the vilest slanders, but no amount of insult or injury could drive her from Piedmont. She wrote in 1847 :—

No annoyances, no persecutions, no sufferings shall drive me from Turin. I am a Christian and a Vendéenne, and nothing shall move me an inch from what I consider to be my post. The family God has given me is here, and I must look after it. I cannot carry away with me my five hundred children, and I shall stay here even if they propose to cut my head off. It is as good a way of going to heaven as any other. God gave my grandmother the courage to die on the scaffold, and he would give it to me also.

This was the secret of her strength. She possessed indeed a singular power of fascination arising from the overflowing tenderness of her heart, which endeared her to a large circle of attached friends, and which was combined with a vigour and cultivation of mind and a playfulness of wit, which never flagged even in old age, and which caused her society to be eagerly sought by some of the most intellectual men in Europe. But the true secret of her strength lay in the knowledge of her weakness. "I often," she writes, "said to our Lord, O my God, I am a poor weak creature, but I do believe

in Thee and love Thee with all my heart and all my strength, and I wish nothing so much as to make others know and love Thee, and I can attempt everything in Him who strengthens me." "These words," she continues, "which I kept constantly repeating, used to tranquillize me, and I went on with my work." And so it was to the last.

The Marchesa (we read in the short notice of her later years which concludes the vol.) "was banished from the prisons which she had reformed, and subjected to numerous annoyances and petty persecutions in the pursuit of her charitable labours; but she never desisted, never flagged in her efforts. If one door was shut to her zeal, she made her way through another; if one means of saving souls was denied to her, she invented a more effectual one. She used to say, "As they will not let me go into the prisons, I must work to try and prevent people getting into them." The *Vendean spirit* was strong in her breast; she was not to be conquered in her struggles to good. And if sometimes the indignant emotion which swelled her bosom at the sight of iniquities committed, as Madame Roland said, *in the name of liberty*, drew from her a harsh word or an irritable outburst against some of her former friends, who still frequented her house and enjoyed her society, despite the opposition between their opinions and her own, she would immediately repent of it, and had no peace, would not eat or sleep till she had expressed her sorrow. "I must be reconciled with my adversaries," she used to say, with a touching earnestness, "before I approach the Altar of my God." Her death was like Pellico's—in harmony with her life. Three days before she died she clearly foresaw that her end was at hand, and refused to see even her most intimate friends, in order to occupy herself exclusively with God, Who was about to call her to Himself. She bade them all farewell in her heart; she had shown them the utmost tenderness and affection; but now the moment was come when she wished to be alone. She did not speak again to any one but her confessor. Friends and poor people and children were weeping, priests and nuns praying at the entrance of her room. Her own soul was steeped in unutterable peace; she lay quietly gazing on the crucifix, whilst in her hand she held a little image of the Blessed Virgin, which had been sent her by the saintly Curé of Ars. The last words she uttered were these, "*May the will of God be done in me and by me in time and for eternity.*"

The memory of Giulia di Barola will long be blessed in Piedmont as the mother of the poor, though the mysterious Providence of God has ordered that little trace should be left on earth of the works of this holy woman but the example of her zeal and charity. We have to thank Lady Georgiana Fullerton for bringing that example to the knowledge and, we trust, the imitation of English women. If our poor are to be raised from the degraded moral and spiritual condition which is a scandal and a stumbling-block to their Protestant neighbours, it must be by efforts, patient, prolonged, and perse-

vering, as those which regenerated France under the inspiration of S. Vincent of Paul. A large measure of his success was due, under God, to the labours of women, high-born and delicately nurtured,—women rescued by him from the bondage of fashionable life, to be his fellow-workers in the liberation of their poorer sisters from the slavery of ignorance and sin.

If a few more of our Catholic women could be roused to work as some few work *now* for the poor,—as Louise de Marillac and Madame Acarie worked *then*, we should not see one labour of love relinquished because of the more immediate need of another.

We see with regret in the report of Eagle House that, in order to undertake the direction of the prisoners, the religious of the Good Shepherd have been compelled to relinquish (we hope only for a time) the opening of a school for the reception of young girls who have been led astray. Scarcely any work is more urgently needed than this, as every parish priest or religious community at work among the poor can attest by sorrowful experience. So long as the homes of the greater number of our poor children continue to be what they are,—so long as the teaching of priest and nun is neutralized by the example of parents,—so long as girls are taken early from school to go to a *shilling place*, or are tempted by the prospect of independence and good pay to enter those abodes of corruption, the great laundries in and about London, the cases will be mournfully many which need such a shelter as this. *Not* a penitentiary, for the poor child is not yet fit for such companionship as she must meet with there. She wants but a hand to stay her on her downward path; and while the shock and the anguish of her fall is full upon her, once more to set her feet in the way, from which it may be, by God's grace, they will never wander again. For want of such a shelter hundreds of our Catholic girls, from twelve to eighteen, pass on to swell the ranks of Millbank and Brixton. There is in this diocese, and we believe in England, no refuge for any fallen Catholic girl below the age for admittance into the Asylum of the Good Shepherd. Surely this is an evil which calls aloud for a remedy; and we feel a good hope that it will not be left long without redress. The faithful and loving efforts now made on behalf of our workhouse children are a pledge of success not only in that special work, but in all others which may be needed; for fidelity in one duty is the way to obtain help and grace for another.

The fulfilment of the spiritual and corporal works of mercy seems to be the special form in which our age is called upon to

do penance and exercise charity. It is to the nineteenth century what martyrdom was to the first Christians, the desert to the age of S. Anthony, and the Holy Sepulchre to the days of S. Bernard. We see this in the practice of the Church, who while she never yields one hair's breadth to the spirit of the age, adapts her ministrations, with a mother's instinctive tact and a mother's watchful tenderness, to the wants and the capabilities of every age and race of men, as they look to her in turn for healing and for help. Thus of all the manifold forms of religious life which the present century has developed in France, every one (as far as our knowledge extends) has been directed to the relief of some of the pressing spiritual or temporal necessities of the age. Even that most beautiful institute for the *Help of the Holy Souls*, the first which has given itself to the exclusive service of the faithful departed, offers as its special oblation for their relief a life of toilsome and unremitting attendance upon the sick poor, thus ministering by one and the same act of loving devotion to the suffering members of Christ on earth and in purgatory.

We see it again in our Lord's distribution of His graces to His most highly-favoured servants. The brightest halo of sanctity which has been visible in one age, illuminated the wasted, attenuated form, and the crowded and cumbered confessional of a toil-worn parish priest. The spirit and power of S. Vincent of Paul visited France in the person of Jean Baptiste Vianney. May he raise up hearts and hands in England mighty and manifold enough for needs as many and as multiform as thronged his path on earth !

ART. VI.—RIO'S CHRISTIAN ART.

De l'Art Chrétien. Par A. F. Rio. Nouvelle édition, entièrement refondue et considérablement augmentée. 4 vols. in 8vo. Paris : Hachette & Cie. 1861-67.

WE have now, at last, the fourth and final volume of a work, which on its very first appearance immediately assumed the rank of a standard publication on *Christian Art*. It has cost its author twenty-five years' labour of his best days ; but as it now lies before us, we are fain to assert that M. Rio cannot regret one single step, one single research, one single journey which he has devoted to the erection of a monument that

bears throughout every part the evidence of indefatigable industry, combined with the most scrupulous impartiality. At any rate, the author has bestowed upon the public a book which no enlightened tourist, no true lover of the Fine Arts, can overlook without exposing himself to the accusation of gross ignorance, or of stolid blindness to the very principles of Art itself. But in the eyes of our own readers M. Rio's writings will have a still more intrinsic merit, for they have placed beyond dispute the superiority of Christian or Catholic Art over any other whatsoever. At a first glance, nothing appears more natural; and yet in reality, when we consider the vast heap of prejudice and heathenism which has been accumulated on the subject, we are bound to admit, even on this score, that our author has rendered no inconsiderable service both to the literary and artistic reader. And, perhaps, after all, it may be of some use to the reader of this periodical to go over the ground so diligently tilled by the French writer; for even the *conoscenti* and the *dilettanti* may thus gather an amount of genuine information hardly to be expected in the numberless handbooks published of late for the use of itinerant amateurs. At the same time, as the three first volumes have now been several years before the public, we shall devote more particular attention to the fourth, which was issued during the course of the last year.

The standard or leading principles of our author, which pervade the whole of his work, may be reduced to the following:—Among the nations of antiquity it is easy to discern a prominent feature or doctrine rising superior to any other, but yet hardly distinguished by the most eminent geniuses, until the dawn of modern discoveries in the field of history. For the student who avails himself of the twofold wings of fancy and science, a new horizon opens, and is gilt by a light which emblazons certain historical traditions with the highest importance. Every great nation has received what we may call a peculiar vocation, embodied in the religious doctrines that have mostly contributed to its moral and intellectual development. Thus, the Hindoos received as their heirloom the dogma of a Divine incarnation, on which they built their giant epics. The Phœnicians clung to the mysterious belief in a primitive prevarication, requiring an unceasing expiation through human sacrifices. The Persians preserved the doctrine of a perpetual antagonism between good and evil;—the Egyptians, the dogma of an immortal soul, combined with a system of eternal retribution; whilst the Greeks seem to have adhered with no less steadfastness to a belief in a twofold degradation of the body and the soul, as if the words, “God

made man to His own image," were ever sounding through their ears.

Nay, more (continues M. Rio), the privilege of the Greeks does not simply consist in having heard the above words, nor even in having heard them more distinctly than others ; it consists in the fact that they undertook, as a special mission, the task of remodelling the human being both as to its inward faculties and to its outward form ; thus bringing into the world the notion of the ideal. Just as the Jews, still more highly gifted, were established for the maintenance of Truth,—so were the Greeks ordained for the maintenance of the Beautiful.

As a confirmation of the above views, we may add, that on no other nation in the world was lavished such a profusion of splendid gifts,—splendid in their variety, no less splendid in their harmony ; so beautifully, so completely blending with each other, that they have withstood the shock of ages, and still blaze forth unequalled, unquenchable, a very beacon to the intellectual world. And as if to show at once and for ever the real source of all true perfection, the princes of Grecian art, such as Phidias and his school, disdained to seek for inspiration anywhere else but in the highest regions. The gods alone were their models, and among them the gods whose attributes were of the most exalted kind ; thus fulfilling the wishes and aspirations of their own countrymen, which all converged at that pre-eminent period towards the sublime. The type which they particularly vied to bring to perfection was that of Minerva ; whilst Venus, the favourite idol of more degenerate times, was considered as a subaltern deity, lovely in its kind, but totally deficient in such qualities as inspire high thoughts and higher deeds to a nation proud of its future destinies. Phidias wrought but one Venus for the Athenian Ceramicon, and it was Venus Urania ; whilst a most striking feature of these times is the utter contempt in which both he and his disciples seem to have held that slavish worship of naked forms so characteristic of Modern Art.

Our author very justly remarks that between the Fine Arts and the Grecian Drama there existed in the age of Pericles a most intimate connection. Just as Phidias spurns the idea of representing sensual beauty, so does Sophocles disdain to deal with the passion of love. Whenever he meets with it on his road, as is the case in Antigone, one would imagine he turned away with a feeling of contempt or fear, as if afraid of degrading that sublime ideal of Art which rules supreme over his genius. Devotedness—devotedness sanctified by the idea of duty, such is usually the foundation of all his plots, which, indeed, contributes to clothe his heroes with more than human dignity.

We cannot tarry to dwell on this part of our subject, though so highly interesting, and we must journey on. But still these observations are far from being irrelevant to our purpose. The fifth century b.c. might be termed the hieratic period of Grecian Art. Of course, it could not last long, and polytheism must needs bring with it a long succession of degenerate, though still beautiful models, which have been handed down to posterity. Those who are desirous of becoming more intimate with the sundry transformations of ancient art, whether in Greece or Rome, may turn to M. Rio's Introduction, or to Ottfried Müller's celebrated work.*

We have already stated that every great nation bears within its own bosom some high ideal, which forms, as it were, the soul and vital principle of its very existence. What was that principle among the Romans? At first sight, we can scarcely discover any; in the fine arts, in the drama, in philosophy, in literature, in eloquence, they never were but imitators of the Greeks. In one respect, however, we find an all-pervading belief, feeling, or foreknowledge—how shall we call it?—which reigns supreme from the beginning to the close of Roman history. To that belief the Romans sacrifice joyfully their lives and fortunes; and no mishap, no revolution, no anarchy, no despotism, can eradicate it from the hearts of this extraordinary people. It is a strong, indomitable belief that the supremacy of Rome will be eternal,—so the gods have willed it; and what Fate has pre-ordained, no heavenly nor earthly power can gainsay. Still more singular, the typical representative of that belief is a character in which are blended the highest religious virtues and the most approved valour. Æneas, observes M. Rio, is a vanquished hero, bearing with him his vanquished gods, to settle, as an exile, in an unknown land. His portrait, traced by Virgil, might equally apply to Godfrey de Bouillon, or to St. Louis:—

Rex fuit Æneas nobis quo justior alter,
Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major et armis.

Our author ventures so far as to assert that, among the Roman writers it is even possible to discern a sort of Pisgah view of asceticism, which was partially realized in the adoption of the Stoic philosophy by so many noble-minded men and women, as a protest against the degrading rule of the Cæsars. The question, at any rate, is hardly worth while elucidating, as the Stoic was utterly powerless to prevent the crash of the

* *Handbuch der Archæologie der Kunst.*

falling empire. But at the same time we must not forget that at this awful period there existed a subterranean Rome, peopled with future martyrs, and guided by a light far superior to any earthly doctrine or principle. It is within those sombre passages and crypts that we must now look for the true Roman people, as well as for that new ideal which is to become henceforth the source of inspiration in the wide field of Art.

On descending into the Catacombs, the visitor is vividly impressed with the fact that the Christians could not divest themselves all at once of those traditions, forms, and technical processes which formed such a conspicuous portion of heathen art. The very artists they employed had to remould the leading principles of their own schools. This could only be effected gradually; and so by degrees alone it is that the olden types are superseded by new ones,—that a new symbolism arises, partly out of the Bible, partly out of a myth, which may be designated as one of the most significant embodied in the Hellenic religion.

The selection of subjects (observes M. Rio) must needs have coincided with the yearnings of Christian souls, and no less with the conditions of time and place,—a fact we ought by no means to forget when we contemplate the series of allegorical and biblical representations that refer to the fundamental dogmas of Christianity. Most of these, indeed, betray great ignorance of picturesque combination ; but still are not these mural paintings, after all, however defective they may be, the most antique inheritance transmitted by our forefathers as to their belief in Christ ? Again, does not their inmost thought stand revealed to us in the most simple way—a touching, naïve, or heroic thought ; or of love, of sacrifice, of atonement, immortal, if ever there was an immortal idea, teeming with life at the very birth of Art, or with regeneration at its decline ?

As a triumphal issue to the mournful drama which the Christian goes through in his pilgrimage here below, the Resurrection is constantly brought forward in images borrowed from the Old and New Testaments,—such as Jonas or Lazarus, the turtle returning to the ark with an olive-branch in its bill, the water transformed into wine, the judgment scene, the phoenix rising from its ashes, or Elijah in his chariot of fire. The good shepherd, who goes in quest of his lost sheep to bring it back to the fold, appears to have been a fond subject both with painters and sculptors. This parable became the most popular, because it was the most consolatory. In the days of trial and persecution, Art had another task to fulfil, by strengthening beforehand the soul against the threats of the torturer and the terrors of death. In such cases, the artist placed before the eyes of the spectator the sufferings and resignation of Job, the three young men in the furnace, Daniel in the den of lions ;—or, again, as it were in a spirit of prophecy, foretelling the ultimate triumph of Christianity, we meet with the catastrophe of Pharaoh, swallowed up with his host of slaves within the bosom of the deep.

We have mentioned a Greek symbol or tradition, which assumes a prominent place in the first endeavours of Christian Art. We allude to the figure of Orpheus, with its significant attribute of the serpent, so truly symbolical of the new doctrine. But the figure of Orante, so frequent in the catacombs, is not only symbolical, but typical. It expresses and typifies the prodigious power of prayer. There is no figure, not even that of the Blessed Virgin, which those primitive painters were so fond of delineating with a character of grandeur, a sweetness of expression, that seem so many forerunners of Christian Art in the Middle Ages. Now this benign and irresistible force of prayer formed, we must remember, the mainstay and support of the Church in these troubled times ;—hence the exclusive predilection her children manifested for pictures of the Orante. It responded, in fact, to the most ardent cravings of their own souls, and gave rise to a new form of art, as we shall have to observe further on.

The reader will naturally expect that the catacombs will reveal to us a traditional type of the Redeemer; and yet they do nothing of the kind. One might almost imagine that the Christians did not allow their fancy full scope in this respect. Perhaps their ideas of our Blessed Saviour were of too sublime a nature to admit of any typical representation of the God-man. Or, perhaps, the mystery which enveloped the rites of the Eucharist contributed to keep the figure of our Lord in a misty halo, equidistant between absolute symbolism and material description of any kind. It may have been a figure *sui generis*, dwelling far more within the recesses of the human soul than within the imagination of any Christian. Nay, to clothe that figure with any form might indeed seem, in the eyes of many, a sort of profanation. We must not, however, conclude from the above words, that no painting of Jesus Christ is to be met with in the catacombs. Quite the contrary ;—but there is nothing typical nor consecrated in the figure.

In one place He is represented showing all the gravity of manhood in His features, with His hair parted over the forehead, so that His mild and melancholy countenance, forming an oval, may be symmetrically enclosed. Elsewhere He seems much younger, with flowing hair, and in a costume by no means imposing, though the attitude and gesture somewhat compensate for this deficiency. The latter type, by no means Oriental, has never emerged from the catacombs. The former, on the contrary, endured through later times, though with certain alterations, and it is to be met with both in the mosaics of the old basilicas, and in the manuscript miniatures. But still we must not consider this predilection for a peculiar type as any proof of

resemblance between the original and the image itself. We know, through the positive evidence of S. Augustine, that the Christians possessed no true likeness of Christ, and that this very absence of any authentic model had left free scope to the imagination of artists; thus giving rise to numberless variations. . . .

So the type of Christ, at whatever period, or in whatever degree it may have been realized by the first Christians, was purely of an ideal character,—a fact which may take somewhat away from its historical, but not from its aesthetical interest. The same may be said of the Virgin,—a type subjected even to still fewer variations, at least in the catacombs, and originating most probably in the vague ideal of the Roman matron. Down to the present time, no endeavour has been made to establish a chronological order between the different images of the Virgin which have been discovered in those subterranean recesses. The only positive fact is, that the oldest representation of all may be met with in the cemetery of S. Callixtus, though there are others either undiscovered, or unpublished, some of which go back as far as the second century of the Christian era.*

The triumph of Constantine, and the establishment of a Christian empire must need have given a very strong impulse to every branch of Religious Art. Unfortunately the successive invasions of barbarians, coupled with the foundation of new kingdoms, swept away almost every relic of those monuments, which would form such an interesting link in this part of our subject. And yet, those centuries that we may justly call the dark ages, so far as the fine arts are concerned, are by no means a mere blank. It was then that were gradually formed two sorts of idealism, which have definitively stamped their imprint on the whole system of Christian Art. The one was Asceticism, owing its origin to the monastic orders; the other Chivalry, which may be traced up to the adventurous spirit of the Teutonic races. Both often blended together, like two twin rivers, to form a new source of inspiration, so well known by the name of Legends. Italy seems to have been a central point between the East and the West, and in her fruitful bosom were silently deposited those germs which sprang up in after-times, and brought forth such splendid fruits that the whole world was struck with sympathetic admiration.

One of the great merits of M. Rio's work consists in the conscientious feeling which has prompted him to seek for the sundry manifestations of Christian Art not only in those high roads and high places, might we say, where every true connoisseur is wont to look for them, but likewise in those sequestered spots and nooks where many a masterpiece lies

* Vol. i. Introd. pp. xxxix.—xli.

concealed from the hacknied admiration of the vulgar tourist. At the same time he has so sedulously studied the history and chronicles of the Italian commonwealths and feudal baronies, that he has been enabled to throw great light on many a fact hitherto remaining obscure. We are thus made to understand how it is that throughout all Italy the history of a picture, or of a statue, is singularly interwoven with the annals of a city; how it is that the whole population is often impassioned with the productions of some native artist, anxiously waiting for the day when his productions will be borne triumphantly on the shoulders of the people to the neighbouring cathedral, or to the municipal guildhall, there to transmit to future ages the memory of popular devotion, of national victories, or worthies. This happy combination of public events with the progress of art gives a peculiar character to the whole work,—a character which is to be met with in no other. It breathes life and interest into every part, until they both culminate in the two last volumes, where the names of Perugino, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Michael Angelo, and a few others, shine like so many lovely constellations in the firmament of Christian Art.

One of the greatest, and at the same time one of the most hacknied errors of the present age, is to believe that the Medici exerted a most powerful, a most healthy influence over the revival of learning and the fine arts. If the contrary proposition had been maintained, it would indeed have come far nearer to truth. From the earliest period of their ascendancy in the Florentine republic, those wealthy bankers aimed much rather at using them as a source of corruption. Above all members of the Medici family, Lorenzo the Magnificent adhered to this system, both from political motives and from his own immoral nature. Whether it were in the field of ancient literature or art, he invariably fostered and protected those men who plunged headlong into the cesspools of the old heathen voluptuousness, whilst he no less invariably left in the shade, and even persecuted, those who remained faithful to the traditions of those Christian schools which, for nearly a whole century, had so highly contributed to the revival of true learning and of genuine art. Hence arose within the Tuscan territory, and too soon, alas! in other parts of Italy, a sect whose sole object was to dry up every pure source of inspiration. Its devotees lived for no other purpose but to absorb within their own souls, and then propagate among their fellow-citizens, every form of degradation, feeling confident at the same time that it was the only road to the ducal favour. A glimpse of this state of things may be caught in Roscoe's "Life of Lorenzo," but to obtain a correct idea of the subject

we must turn to M. Rio's pages, or to the still more instructive annals of the times. Had he done nothing else, he would have rendered a signal service to the cause of historical truth. For here, indeed, we discover, on the most authentic evidence, that the most sublime genius, such as Leonardo da Vinci, was forced to produce such works as cost him a pang of remorse and shame on his very death-bed. Here again we find, that whether in the sittings of the pseudo-academy held in the ducal gardens, or in the studio of the artist, there was not the slightest chance of protection, unless he copied such forms and resuscitated such images as flattered and pandered to the worst propensities of human nature. To this, to this alone, must be attributed the rapid and astonishing downfall of Italian art towards the close of the sixteenth century.

It must not, however, be supposed that these fatal tendencies met with no opposition among the most enlightened portion of the public. No less among a host of artists than of literati, of substantial burghers than of saintly men, there arose a steadfast, decided war to the knife against principles equally destructive of all moral feeling and of all true patriotism. One man in particular towers above others in that noble contest; the name of Savonarola, the Dominican monk, shines foremost in this battle of Virtue against Vice, and is so mixed up with the whole history of Christian Art at this period, that to separate either would be to violate every rule of scientific investigation.

The name of Savonarola has made itself popular among the friends of republican opinions and among the enemies of the Catholic priesthood, and wherever it is uttered in our days, it appears exclusively to recall the remembrance of a shameful death inflicted upon a stanch defender of civil freedom and of religious toleration. The perpetuity of this error may be attributed to the tenacity with which posterity has clung to two facts summing up, as it were, the public life of Savonarola: his refusal to absolve Lorenzo Medici on his death-bed, unless he previously restored the freedom of his native country, and the boldness with which he is supposed to have shaken off the Pope's authority. Without examining how far the above pretension is confirmed or refuted by the most authentic documents of those times, let us embrace the view most highly interesting to ourselves, and contemplate, simply as admirers of Christian art and poetry, the dramatic and imposing struggle which a single monk maintained against his own age under the very eye of all Italy. His object was to restore the rule of Christ over the heart, the intellect, and the imagination of his people,—to extend the blessings of the Atonement throughout every faculty and every product of the human soul. The enemy whom he combats with the whole might of his genius, with the whole power of his eloquence, is that paganism which he traces in

every direction, in the arts and in the manners of his nation, in their ideas and in their conduct,—in the cloister no less than in the public school.

Such are the words by which M. Rio ushers in the celebrated Dominican reformer. He was but two-and-twenty when he entered the order, and the study of the Divine Word became henceforward the ruling passion of his life. His first attempt in the pulpit had proved a downright failure; but by degrees his language, hitherto cold and vapid, became bold and impassioned. Pico de la Mirandola having heard him at a provincial chapter of the order, was so enraptured with his eloquence and with the exalted feelings of the monk, that he resolved never to lose sight of him; and he spoke of his worth in such enthusiastic terms to Lorenzo di Medici, that the latter appointed Savonarola reader in the monastery of S. Mark at Florence.

In this retreat, under the shade of a large rose-tree, forming the principal ornament of the conventional garden, the monk began to preach before an audience small in numbers, but which soon increased so as to require full space in the neighbouring church. The following year, the cathedral itself could scarcely hold his wondering admirers.

It was a critical moment for Florence: the country had been invaded, and was then occupied by the French, and Savonarola took advantage of the circumstance to hold them forth as the avengers of Divine wrath, as the forerunners of the most formidable trials for the Church. Himself believing in the truth of his predictions, which he grounded on the Word of God, he worked to an extraordinary degree upon the ardent fancy of his hearers. They soon beheld in him a deliverer, a prophet, a saint, a guardian-angel of their unfortunate country. Repentance for their sins, enthusiasm for the preacher, patriotism, all the noblest sentiments of the human breast, were so blended together in every soul, that many imagined themselves brought back to the scenes of the primitive Church.*

To have their share of this marvellous manna thus abundantly showered down from Heaven, the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages deserted their dwellings, and the uncouth mountaineers were seen winding down the Apennine slopes towards Florence, wherein the tide of pilgrims rushed every morning at sunrise, and were greeted with the most brotherly affection. Not a townsman but vied in fulfilling the duties of hospitality; though their very names were unknown, they were embraced in the open street, and some of these pious citizens went so far as to harbour forty of them at one time in their own house.

* *Talche parve proprio una primitiva chiesa.*—Burlamachi, p. 39.

Such a scene will be almost incredible in the eyes of our cold, Protestant England, and yet it rests upon the most authentic evidence, and continued with the same fervour, with the same enthusiasm, for seven long years! We must not, however, suppose that Savonarola met with no opposition; the faction of the *lukewarm*, as they were called, breathed the most bitter hatred against the reformer. They denounced him at Rome in the strongest terms, threatened him with the halter, and left no stone unturned to injure his popularity and malign his character. Indeed to look down calm and dauntless on the dark tempest gathering below, required in the Florentine apostle boundless confidence in supernatural assistance.

We have said above that the influence of the Medici and of their courtiers had produced the most fatal effects upon public and private morals; it is now time to enter into some details, as the only means of gauging the amount of good wrought by Savonarola even on the ground of Art. In reality, there was not one single branch of human knowledge which had not been contaminated by the breath of heathenism. By daily worshipping the obscene idols of old, people had come at last to blush at the cross; and in those times Florence was full of men learned, clever, noble, ingenious, refined to the utmost degree, but who were utter strangers to the Christian faith, and even scoffed at those who still preserved its dictates within their bosoms. Artists of consummate genius candidly admitted that they had never been believers; whilst others, to avoid giving scandal, contented themselves with going through a few hacknied and outward observances. At the university, in the school-room, in the circle of the domestic homestead,—nay, even in the cloister itself, the books and precepts instilled into the ears of youth and children were often of such a character as to defy description. One could almost suppose them to have been selected for the sake of their very obscenity.

Such was the field in which Savonarola had to labour, and he went to his work with a prudence and energy worthy of our utmost admiration. By degrees he brought about a thorough reformation both in public and private education, though, at the same time, he ever acknowledged and extolled those classic beauties of ancient literature which had more than one kindred affinity with his own soaring genius. A keen reasoner, an accomplished speaker, a deep theologian, a competent judge of philosophical systems, a refined scholar, such was this great man; but great above all by his earnestness in preaching the Gospel, and in bringing forth therefrom so many fruits of grace.

O Florence ! Florence ! (exclaimed he, one day at the close of a sermon), do thy will against me, whatever that may be. I have ascended the pulpit to-day to tell thee that thou shalt not destroy my work, for it is the work of Christ. Whether I die or live, the seed I have sown within your hearts must bear its fruits ;—if my enemies are powerful enough to banish me from thy walls, I shall not be cast down ; for I shall ever find some lonely spot as an asylum for myself and my Bible,—a spot where I may enjoy a repose of which none of thy citizens can despoil me !

Such was the man.* For the wonderful exertions by which he brought about a thorough reform in every path and condition of life, we must refer the reader to M. Rio's pages, for we have still to answer the question,—what of his influence over Christian Art ? Did this extraordinary personage, whom some have represented as a fanatic, as a rude, ignorant monk, uselessly striving and raving against the natural progress of civilization ; whom others consider as a true forerunner of Luther or Calvin,—did he really hold any sway over some of the brightest geniuses of his own, or indeed of any age ? And, again, if the fact be incontrovertible, how are we to account for it ? The question is well worth an answer ; for, after all, it would doubtless be no wonder if Savonarola had not possessed that exquisite feeling of the sublime and beautiful in the realms of fancy, which is by no means bestowed on every gifted mind, and which supposes in its owner a certain fund of sensibility, a certain delicacy in the organs, that are hardly to be expected in an ascetic bound to the mortifications of the cloister. And yet all this was combined in a degree scarcely credible in the Dominican whose figure we have before our eyes.

While yet a tyro in the monastic life, he gave many proofs of his artistic inclinations. As he had made a rule of parting with every object which he deemed an obstacle to self-renunciation, so he found that to sacrifice a picture or a pious miniature was a source of greater pain than any other. At a later period, when delighting in laying down Utopian rules for a model convent in Florence, he bound the lay brethren to labour in sculpture and painting. According to his ideas, they dwelt close to the sanctuary, and by being thus at the very source of pure inspiration, they might be considered as so many vestals watching over the sacred fire. His own experience taught him how far a Christian artist might help the soul to emerge from her apathy and facilitate her aspirations towards her Maker. He was often seen absorbed for

* Savonarola's relations with the Holy See were considered in the first number of our new series (July, 1863,) pp. 236-7.

hours together in silent worship before a crucifix which adorned the church of Or-San-Michele. And then, throughout his different works, how splendidly shines forth his theory of the Beautiful, surpassing in depth and originality every other writer of his times ! The following extract from one of his sermons, wherein he addresses more particularly the living artists of his age, is an excellent illustration of his ideas on the subject :—

Your notions bear the stamp of the grossest materialism. . . . In complex subjects, beauty consists in a due proportion between the component parts, or in the harmony of colours ; but, in simple objects, beauty is transfiguration, beauty is light. So it is beyond all visible objects that you must look for the very essence of supreme beauty. . . . The more creatures participate in, or come nearer to, the beauty of God, the more really beautiful they are, just the same as the beauty of our body is in due proportion to the beauty of our soul. For, supposing that out of this audience you were to select two women equally lovely, most undoubtedly the holiest of the two would excite the greatest admiration among the spectators, and the prize of beauty would be awarded to her, even by the most carnal of men.

Place the above words in the mouth of Aristotle, of Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael ; or suppose them again to have been uttered by M. Ruskin in a lecture on the fine arts, and would they not be considered as one of the finest rules of inspiration ? But our admiration increases when we remember that the old monk's sermons are full of similar passages, gushing, as it were, from the depths of his soul, and welling forth in every direction, so as to spread over the realms of art a fertility of the richest nature. Nature, did we say ? Ay, for closely allied in Savonarola with this high standard of the Ideal, was his fond love of nature. " He fully understood," observes M. Rio, " the words of S. Paul,—*Tam multa genera linguarum sunt in hoc mundo et nihil sine voce est.*" Whenever, in the course of his ramblings, he met with some lovely landscape, he was wont to burst forth into an ecstatic fit of enthusiasm, and, opening the Psalms, he sought for a text extolling the wonders of the valley and the mountain. " One occasion in particular sank deep in the memory of his simple companions. After picking out the sap of a fig-tree, Savonarola moulded it into the shape of so many white turtles, which he distributed among his brethren, whilst he explained to them in the most poetical terms the twofold intervention of that mystical bird, both in the alliance of God with Noah, and in the covenant of aftertimes through the blood of his Son."

Such being the turn of mind of the great Dominican, we

shall by no means be astonished to learn that his influence was all but omnipotent over a host of poets, authors, and artists, of every grade and character. They followed him as the guide of their souls, and no less as the guide and inspiring spirit of their best productions, as the direct instruments of his grand social reform. Among his most enthusiastic admirers and disciples, we might name, besides John de la Mirandola, Marcile Ficino, the celebrated restorer of Plato's philosophy, the historian Guicciardini, and others hardly less famous. But in no class whatsoever did Savonarola find more ardent disciples and champions of his cause than among the painters and sculptors of his day. Our author reckons them among his apostles and martyrs; some would have gladly laid down their own lives to save that of their well-beloved master; others, in their grief for his untimely death, abandoned their art, as if their only source of inspiration was now dried up for ever. Not one of them belied their master; not one of them but hailed in him, even in the teeth of his persecutors, the true Christian pastor who had fought and fallen bravely in the cause of truth and justice. Indeed, his memory was so sanctified, so embalmed in the recollections of successive generations of artists, that more than a century after Savanarola's death his likeness was constantly chosen to figure in their productions as the type of some sacred mystery, or the model of some high virtue. That likeness is to be met with among the frescoes of Raphael, probably with the approbation of the Pope himself. Such was the respect generally felt for the great Dominican of the fifteenth century, that his beatification was boldly proposed, and S. Philip Neri is said to have kept a portrait of Savonarola in his cell, as of a man who had approved himself a true champion of the good cause. There are few instances in history, we believe, of such a faithful reverence on the part of artists and poets for an obscure monk, who never condescended to flatter their passions, and never swerved from what he considered as the straight path of duty. Such a steadfast allegiance to intrinsic worth is honourable to human nature itself.

From Florence we must now turn to the Venetian school, which opens the fourth volume. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the service which M. Rio has rendered to the history of Christian Art, by the new light he has thrown on this part of his subject, and which positively amounts to a sort of revelation. The general character of that school in its later period, represented as it was by Titian and others, who followed in his footsteps, has greatly contributed to blind, or at least to dazzle us, as to its fundamental features, during the

last half of the thirteenth century. And yet it was in those troubled times that arose in Venice whole generations of artists and patriots, of sainted warriors and of ascetic painters, so closely connected, so intimately interwoven, as it were together, that it is totally impossible to separate them either from each other or from the general history of their far-famed republic. Never, perhaps, since the days of Pericles, were the annals of any nation wound up to such a degree with the history of the fine arts; and it is to bring forth in glowing colours this new discovery that the French writer has plunged headlong into sources hitherto unsought for, and ransacked memorials long concealed under the accumulating dust of ages. But, at any rate, all his pains and trouble have been rewarded; henceforward no true amateur can overlook this part of his work; and, indeed, we shall soon give a most remarkable proof of the revolution which M. Rio has already effected in this respect among men who are most decidedly hostile to his general views and opinions.

Perhaps one of the most singular facts in the world, observes our author, is the total absence of a Venetian drama, of a Venetian epic poem, of Venetian oratory, in fine, of Venetian literature altogether. He attributes this remarkable circumstance to the character of the local dialect—the softest, the most melodious of the whole Italian peninsula—so soft, indeed, that it does not possess resources sufficient for any unusual display of energy and dignity. This deficiency in their own native tongue was so apparent to the inhabitants of the Lagoons that, on public occasions, they invariably made use of the Latin language to express their admiration for their deceased heroes. Their very heroic poems were composed in the same dead idiom,—a process which, besides giving rise to a conventional sort of literature, had the sad result of building up a learned system of poetry, from which the people was totally excluded,—the people, that ever-teeming germ of all true poetry and enthusiasm. Who would imagine, for instance, that the immortal production of Dante was translated into Latin for the use of the Venetian patricians? Such a fact requires no comment.

And yet the slightest reflection will lead us to believe that a nation so pre-eminently endowed as to poetry and the fine arts, could not be deprived of a popular system of poetry. And, indeed, so it was. The poetical vein sought for other issues, and, disdaining the classical channels as well as an obsolete language, it soon assumed forms more congenial to the people's taste and fancy. In Venice, no less than in other parts of Europe, the vernacular poetry was embodied

in numberless legends, and sprang up, as it were, from mother earth with a freshness and a variety of forms, tints, and hues, which almost baffles description.

Not a temple, not a monastery, not a religious or national monument, but had its cortége of legends, that went on increasing with every age ; and, as if these local traditions proved to be insufficient, the people conquered those of Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece, but yet assimilating them to their own genius, just as they appropriated the relics of saints and martyrs, in order to protect them against the insults of the infidels, who now ruled over the countries where the first Christian churches had been founded.

And yet, whilst borrowing so profusely from foreign nations, the Venetians by no means cramped their own originality. All these sundry and exotic metals are so well smolten, so to speak, in one common furnace, that we soon discern a common fund of legendary poetry, far richer, far more various than any other, and rising superior to any other, from the fact that it embodied the deep meaning of the Italian and German legends with the more brilliant productions of Eastern imagination. Such was the real form of Venetian poetry down to the beginning of the fifteenth century, when it was instinctively superseded by Art itself, as if a mysterious, yet infallible foresight had marked the precise moment when such a substitution was required for the maintenance and effulgence of the national genius.

However, it is not in Venice itself that we must look for the birthplace of Venetian art. Down to the fifteenth century, she appealed either to the Greeks or to the Florentines when she wished to build her temples and to adorn her palaces. In fact, one may boldly affirm that the Byzantine architecture and painting prevailed almost exclusively at this early period, though with certain differences, foreshadowing the future character so peculiar to this highly-gifted country. Giotto himself, and his disciples, encountered indeed great difficulties in making their way through the lagoons, whilst, strange to say, their influence soon became paramount among the neighbouring continental cities. In fact, it is at Trevisa, Brescia, Verona, Padua, Cadore, and other Lombard towns, that we must look for the true fathers of Venetian art ; as they gradually fell, either through conquest or treaties, under the rule of the great republic, their architects, painters, and sculptors were successively called upon to satisfy both the devotion of the people and the enlightened protection of the aristocracy. We recommend to every curious reader the perusal of about fifty pages devoted by M. Rio to this part of his subject : it will prove quite new to even the proficient in

these matters. But even here, if we had to make a choice, we should point out the part allotted to the Bellinis and their school, whom we are tempted to call a long dynasty of artists, exemplifying in their lives and productions the superior influence of a thoroughly Catholic spirit over the genius of man. Well indeed may our writer exclaim at the close of his chapter on Bellini :—

We may go back as far as we please in the history of art, and trace its progress under the most favourable circumstances, nowhere shall we meet with such a splendid efflorescence brought forth by such a crystal sap, and expanding into so many various effects. To produce the above wonders, and those which we shall have still to commemorate, something more was requisite than a traditional initiation to certain technical processes : the treble vitality, which is the very groundwork of idealism in man—the vitality of the soul through faith ; the vitality of character through patriotism and warlike virtues ; the vitality of the fancy through religious and legendary poesy ; such was the grand foundation. And again we say it—it is hardly possible to find throughout history any period when these conditions were so thoroughly fulfilled as by the Venetians during the half-century we are now speaking of. The commonwealth was at the apex of its strength and glory, and both were vividly reflected by the fine arts. The star was rising to its zenith, and shed forth such dazzling beams, that the keenest eye could have scarcely detected the slightest speck, or discovered any symptom of degeneracy.

The distinctive character of the Bellini school was ascetism in its most essential features ; and it is certainly a most remarkable fact that such remained, long after those patriarchs of Venetian art, the fundamental inspiration of its champions, no less than the craving, one might almost say, of the republican aristocracy.

Piety and genius go hand in hand among the painters, piety and bravery, piety and ability, are usually united among the nobles. There are but few exceptions to the rule, or rather, those exceptions confirm the rule. On the one hand we have Giorgione, Pordenone, Palma, Titian, Bonifazio, Paris Bordone, Paul Veroneze, Tintoretto ; on the other, Grimani, Cornaro, Mocenigo, Bembo, and sundry other heroes. In fact, it was only when the infamous Aretin obtained such undue influence through his lampoons and scurilous productions, that we begin to feel the approaching downfall of true art—a downfall from which it has never since recovered. To a discerning view, Providence could not have awarded a greater penalty on those who contributed to the dereliction of the principles and feelings which made Italian art what it still is in the eyes of an intelligent posterity.

Giorgione, a disciple of the last Bellini, was not, however, a painter belonging to the purely Ascetic school. He opens the generation of artists whom we may proclaim as belonging to the heroic order. From his very youth, he had constantly before his eyes the effects of foreign invasion, and probably imbibed from thence a preference for military subjects. A national deliverer seems, according to his notions, to have every title to heavenly beatitude. Hence his devotion for S. George, who, by the bye, was the most popular of all Venetian saints. At the same time, as Giorgione is more particularly distinguished for his energy and grandeur, we are not disagreeably surprised by the display of such qualities in productions, in almost every one of which we meet with a soldier. Among his best portraits of great commanders we may mention the celebrated Gonzalvo de Cordova and Gaston de Foix.

But at the same time the natural tendencies of this great artist, combining with his very success, contributed to bring about a sort of revolution in the Venetian school. It is but proper that we should advert to such circumstances, because they form so many landmarks in the field of art history. Hitherto the cloister, the sanctuary, or religious sodalities, had enjoyed the privilege of commanding large cyclical and mural compositions. With Giorgione they emerged from the twilight of the chancel to bask in the gaudy rays of an Italian sky. He was the first, we believe, who set the example of painting the facings of palaces and public buildings. He often borrowed his subjects from the Lives of the Saints, but still more frequently from Ovid. This was a serious innovation, but a decided success for the painter. Immediately the Soranzos, the Grimani, and other patrician families, bespoke frescoes of the same kind for their own dwellings; and the Doge Leonard Loredano admired so highly the author of those wonderful creations, that he intrusted to Giorgione and to Titian, his rival, the joint labour of decorating the whole front of one of the largest edifices in Venice—the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*.

A serious innovation was this, did we say. Little by little every house, every palace, became a field upon which the artist was free to display the wildest caprices of his genius, and to bestow upon naked forms and heathenish scenes of voluptuousness that magic colouring which ought to have been reserved for higher objects. It was, indeed, impossible that the beautiful alliance of religion and art, of piety and chivalry, should long endure—and, indeed, it did not endure; for Titian was already rising, and too soon he carried all before him. There are, in fact, few chapters more instructive

than the one in which our author shows how much ideal perfection really lost by the mournful invasion of neo-paganism in the sacred field of art. And in so saying we must not be supposed in the slightest degree to put in a plea for the pre-Raphaelite system, that true offshoot of mediocrity and eccentricity.

The influence of Giorgione in the new field which he had opened to painters, was immediately felt in his successors, and more particularly in Pordenone, the great rival of Titian. The fashion of covering every edifice with pictorial ornaments became quite a frenzy among the Venetians, a frenzy by which Christian Art was far from gaining. Without entering into any detail as to his well-known productions, we may observe that they bore, no less than his own character, the imprint of a twofold influence—the influence of a classical education and of the military habits and customs by which he was surrounded. In his own native city, one of the most famous generals, l'Alviane, had established a sort of literary academy, wherein Pordenone imbibed his first principles and lessons. To this circumstance, as well as to his own strong intellect, we may partly attribute his superiority over all his contemporary rivals in regard to scholarship, and his predilection for Greek and Roman subjects. But this sort of theoretical *dilettantism* was most fortunately corrected, and kept within proper bounds by the situation of the Venetian republic itself at this critical period. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the commonwealth was surrounded by enemies on every side, and more than once seemed to be tottering on her foundations. But still, the energy of her defenders rose superior to every peril, and every family exhibited the most noble examples of patriotism. That such an atmosphere of devotedness and self-sacrifice should have electrified an exalted soul like that of Pordenone, is by no means astonishing; we can hardly doubt, indeed, that more than once he exchanged the brush and easel for the sword. He belongs, says M. Rio, to the militant school, which arose at Padua, and continued through Mantegna down to himself. Like the latter, he selected in the Bible, as subjects for his compositions, such scenes as tended to increase and foster the love of fatherland.

To dwell upon this part of our subject, to show the close connection, which lasted almost to the very end, between Venetian art and the glorious annals of a free country, to trace, above all, that under-current of piety and patriotism, mixing their waters together in a Paul Veronese, would cer-

tainly be a delightful task ; but we must hurry on to a conclusion and leave our readers to M. Rio's pages. We can but repeat what we said above, that never, to our knowledge at least, was brought forth in stronger colours the fact that art, in the highest acceptation of the term, has invariably culminated in the alliance of genuine, sound Christian piety with that æsthetical breathing of the human soul, if we may be allowed such an expression, which is the very life and essence, and substance of inspiration. And if this be true of those whose names have come forth in these pages, how much more so of a Michael Angelo, of a Raphael ! For, even while speaking of these two paramount lords of modern art, M. Rio has succeeded in throwing new light upon a subject, which to many would have appeared exhausted. Thanks to his system of ransacking old records, neglected by the herd of usual commentators, he has elicited new evidence to the truth of his theory, an evidence founded on the most authentic facts. Among many others, we may point to the sound religious education which young Raphael received in his father's house, a man who was himself a pious Christian, an eminent artist, and a distinguished poet. Many a reader will be startled at this assertion, and yet how true, though it is not to be met with in any work of modern times on Italian art ! Giovanni Santi or Sauzio had been himself formed in the Umbrian school, a school pre-eminent among all others for its ascetic and chaste character. Fra Angelico, Piero della Francesca, and Perugino are three names quite sufficient to mark its general tendencies. An historical poem, written by Raphael's father, is a most precious document, which shows us how truly open was his own soul to all the surrounding influences of that blessed region, equally famous for its saints and for the chivalrous intrepidity of its inhabitants. Between the years 1480 and 1490, Giovanni Santi had constantly before his eyes the productions of the most distinguished Umbrian masters, of whom he speaks with enthusiasm :—

Perhaps we may place at the same period his initiation to another kind of ideal in the works of Petrarch and Dante ; for he lets us into his confidence as to his predilections in poetry, no less than in the fine arts, and it is impossible not to be struck with the harmony existing between his views in both directions. In a few lines, he marks the ascetical tendencies of Fra Angelico, has a word of kind remembrance for his dear old master Melozzo, does full justice to Mantegna and Piero della Francesca, and in order to express his admiration for Leonardo da Vinci, places him on the same line with Perugino, on whom he bestows the qualification of *divine* ;

thus instinctively prophesying the future direction of young Raphael's lisings.*

But it is in the productions of Giovanni Santi that we are to look for the early influence which he must have obtained over the fond object of his fatherly affections. It would seem, indeed, as if that dear image were constantly before his eyes, so often does it reappear in his paintings. Indeed, we can scarcely conceive a more angelic form, and never, perhaps, had any artist a better right to identify his worship for the beautiful with his own domestic affections. In one picture, young Raphael is shown as he was at the age of three years; in another he verges on manhood; but everywhere he is the very type of beauty, yet preserving that stamp of sanctity which he is made to impersonate. And the same may be said of Giovanni's Madonnas. Some of them are not unworthy of his illustrious son in his best period; all bear a comparison with the most remarkable productions of the mystic school of Umbria. And yet this is the man who is simply known for having been Raphael's father! Had that father been spared longer to that son, the admirers of the latter would probably not have to regret the demoralizing influence which certain patrons exerted over the prince of artists, and which is but too discernible in some of his latest productions.

However pleasing might be the task of following M. Rio through the two last chapters of his work, devoted to Michael Angelo and to Raphael, where he has brought to light—we again repeat it—so many new facts and details of a most interesting nature, we must come to a conclusion. Thanks to his scrupulous and persevering spirit of investigation, he has dispelled many an error concerning those two great men; he has still gleaned abundantly in a field where so many others had reaped before him. Who did not believe, on the faith of the superficial and misguided Vasari, that Raphael had prematurely succumbed to his own excesses? The French writer has proved the fallacy of this statement, though it by no means implies that the famous Sanzio did not yield to those fatal passions, which, at any rate, impaired his genius, and partially deprived him of that consummate combination of religious inspiration with natural grace and beauty, so highly

* Giovan da Fiesole, frate al bene ardente,
Due giovin par d'estate e par d'amori,
Leonardo da Vinci e 'l Perusino,
Pier della Pieve, ch' è un divin pittore,
Non lasciando Melozzo a me si caro.

conspicuous in his early productions. To the lessons and traditions of the Umbrian school he owed that sublime gift, perhaps no less than to his own towering genius, and he preserved it immaculate as long as he remained faithful to the feelings and principles of his first education as a painter. Throughout the whole work of M. Rio, there is, indeed, no part where is better demonstrated the truth of the doctrine, that in the higher regions of art, above all of Christian Art, there does exist a mysterious and indissoluble link between the religious status of an artist and his æsthetic inspirations. To have established this truth on a sound basis, to have justified it on a long series of undeniable facts, through every school and through every age, is certainly a signal service rendered to the cause of art itself in our own times. Doubtless in many a page the intelligent reader may carp at this or that statement, he may deny this or that principle; but still, *nolens volens*, he is forced to assent to the gist of the work, as a whole. And, indeed, a moment's reflection will often convince us, when disposed to demur, that our misgivings proceed rather from our own ignorance, or superficial information, than from false assumptions on the part of a writer whose whole life has been devoted to the contemplation of those masterpieces which he has undertaken to analyze and to reduce, as it were, to a general system of exalted æsthetics. But, after all, the best proof we can produce how true is this last assertion is furnished by the fate of the book itself since its late publication. We have been fortunate enough to glean in Paris the following interesting details, which now come before the public for the first time.

Any one familiar with the productions of French art for the last twenty years must have been struck with the meretricious taste and degraded tendencies of its principal representatives. Setting aside landscape and a few inferior sorts of painting or sculpture, it may be fairly asserted, we believe, that the grossest materialism is the ruling principle of the national school amongst our neighbours. To point out names might, perhaps, appear somewhat invidious; let us, therefore, confine ourselves to the annual exhibitions of the *Palais de l'Industrie*. You may go through those long and tedious galleries, year after year, and you are sure to meet with scarcely anything else but the most obscene subjects, exposing every form and attitude that may tend to excite our lowest propensities. As to any idea higher than that of anatomical perfection, there is none, and the public itself turns away in disgust. Even sense palls upon such a profusion of naked limbs and fleshy bosoms. In what home, nay, in what palaces, could such productions find room?

We are far from asserting that the evil is universal ; we are well acquainted with such bright exceptions as Orsel, Perrin, Flandrin, and a few others, who were precisely men deep in religious belief and practice ; but we maintain that, of late more particularly, the French school has come to a state of degeneracy of which they are themselves the very first to complain. And yet how could it be otherwise ? The principles of the foulest materialism are dogmatically officially laid down and taught at the very school of design supported by the Government itself. Every week M. Taine, its usual exponent, endeavours to prove to a youthful audience of future artists that form and matter and anatomy are the be-all and end-all of the fine arts. In his late publication on the Italian schools, there is scarcely a page in which he does not justify these fine principles, and apply them to the works of the great masters. One may imagine what is their effect upon raw lads, who can fall back upon no counteracting influence, either in their own minds or in their studios.

Such is the world into which M. Rio has launched his book on Christian Art—with what chance of success the reader may well fancy. And yet such is the force of truth, that it is making its way even among unbelievers of every description and hue. The most signal proof of its influence has been lately shown on M. Taine himself. He had delivered to his hearers a series of lectures on the Venetian school, and had displayed his usual tendencies, when he became acquainted with M. Rio's pages on the same subject. The effect seems to have been instantaneous on the professor's mind. He at once became aware of his own inconsistencies—of the glaring errors into which he was constantly falling, and, like an upright man, resolved to make amends. And, indeed, so he really did, publicly retracting his own errors, publicly pointing to the standard worth of the work to which he himself owed his new-born knowledge. Such an instance of candour does, certainly, high credit to the gifted professor. May it be an omen of future amendment in more serious concerns !

But here the matter did not stand ; the French Academy directed their attention to the subject, and was inclined to award a prize to a publication which they considered as one of the most useful and most conclusive that had come forth of late years. How the proposal failed it is not for us to relate ; but we are sorry to add that it originated in what we may consider as an exaggerated, though honourable sensitiveness on the part of M. Rio himself. In our humble opinion, the stamp of such an authority on his excellent history of Christian

Art would have favoured the wide circulation of his doctrines — a matter dearer to his heart than any other consideration. We can therefore but regret that he has, by an act of his own free will, foregone a golden opportunity of success. So many men are led by the opinions of others, that it is not always advisable to rely on intrinsic merit alone when we wish either to dispel an error or to establish a truth. At any rate, what a pity, we are fain to exclaim, that M. Rio himself should not have been called to a professorship at the Paris School of Design! His pre-eminent qualifications are written in every page of his excellent work on Christian Art.

ART. VII.—NATIONAL TENDENCIES AND THE DUTIES OF CATHOLICS.

1. *A Bill to Provide Elementary Education in England and Wales.* (Prepared and brought in by Mr. Henry Austin Bruce, Mr. William Edward Forster, and Mr. Algernon Egerton.) Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 17th March, 1868.
2. *A Bill intituled An Act to regulate the Distribution of Sums granted by Parliament for Elementary Education in England and Wales; and for other purposes.* (Presented by the Lord President.) Ordered to be printed, 24th March, 1868.
3. *Education Commission.* Report of the Assistant Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of popular Education in Continental Europe, 1861, vol. iv. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.
4. *Schools Inquiry Commissions.* Report on the Common School System of the United States, and of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, by the Rev. J. FRASER, M.A., Assistant-Commissioner. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.
5. *Twentieth Annual Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee.*
6. *Report of the National Society.* 1868.
7. *The Nonconformist.* May, 1868.

I.

WE call the attention of our readers to the national tendencies in Education and Religion. They are inseparably knit together, yet they must be considered first one and then the other. The subject of popular education is so prominently before the public mind, that we need no apology for a brief recurrence to it in this number.

Since our January issue, the question has moved on. It has moved on in the direction which we then pointed out as the aim of the Radical and Liberal party, and as the least happy for the cause of religion. It has been now practically delivered over to the action of the new Parliament, and this will probably be of a more rational-

istic and secular tendency than any that has met under the shadow of St. Stephens.

Two bills have been brought in during the present session,—one in the Lords, by the Duke of Marlborough, for the Government; another in the Commons, by Mr. Bruce.

The Government Bill seeks to develop the existing system, founded on the religious basis, by supplementing the voluntary contributions with larger Government grants than are at present made. It limits the application of the “conscience clause” to districts having only one school. It objects to local rates and boards, and proposes the creation of a Minister of Education. It makes payments for results. At the same time we are bound to say that it is marked by feebleness and timidity, containing no comprehensive scheme for netting the ignorance of the country, and it has found little favour in Parliament and throughout the country.

Still, under the circumstances, we should be glad to see such a Bill as the Duke's carried, in preference to anything which is likely to be substituted for it by the opposite party, or by another Parliament.

Mr. Bruce has redeemed his promise to the Manchester Congress, and brought in a compulsory Bill, which there is no thought of passing into law this year.

The use of the Bill is that it keeps Mr. Bruce's hand in as a leader on popular education, and will give him a right to introduce a measure to the next Parliament. It also educates the House of Commons and the country on the subject of popular education, and so familiarizes the public with its revolutionary measures that they cease to be regarded with aversion, and will at length be considered as natural and inevitable steps.

The Bill of 1868 differs from its predecessor of 1867 chiefly in this, that it is more advanced and more acceptable to the Radicals. It contains machinery for compulsory enforcement, and a wider conscience clause.

The following summary of its measures may be sufficient for our purpose.

I.—It provides for the *voluntary* adoption of the Act,

First, by all municipal boroughs and places under the jurisdiction of a local board, or of commissioners, or trustees, entrusted by any local Act with powers of improvement.

Secondly, by all unions which are not co-extensive with, or included in, the places above mentioned.

Thirdly, by special districts formed under an Order in Council.

And fourthly, by the union of districts, or of parts of parishes and districts.

Moreover it provides for the *compulsory* adoption of the Act by an order from the Committee of Council, after due inquiry. This

inquiry may be demanded by one-tenth in number or rateable value of the persons who are or could be electors of the district ; or it may be directed by the Committee of Council on its own authority.

II.—The School Committee in municipal boroughs may be elected by the Council, either wholly or in part, out of their own body. In all other districts the Committee will be elected by the ratepayers. The number of the Committee is to be six, nine, or twelve.

III.—The expenses of the School Committee are to be paid out of a fund called the "School Fund," raised in the following manner :—In the city of London out of the consolidated rate ; in districts under the Metropolis Management Act, 1855 ; in boroughs, out of the borough fund or rate ; in places under the jurisdiction of a local board, out of the general district rate ; in places under the Improvement Commissioners, out of the rate leivable by them ; in unions, out of the union rate.

IV.—The money provided for building a new school will be charged on the parish in which that school is situate. This expense may be spread over any number of years not exceeding thirty ; and the School Committee may borrow money on the security of the school fund.

V.—The Government code, in its application of imperial aid, will be construed as if the contributions from the local fund arose from voluntary contributions.

VI.—The managers of every school in the district, whatever its denomination, fulfilling certain conditions, and not exacting a weekly payment of more than ninepence, may apply to be received into union. The conditions are :—

1. That they shall be open to inspection both by Her Majesty's and by local inspectors.

2. That the discipline and instructions shall be in all respects conformable to the minutes of the Committee of Council ; provided always that no scholar shall be required, when attending the school, to learn any Catechism or religious formulary to which the parent objects in writing, nor to be present at any lesson, instruction, or observance to which such objection has been made.

3. That no scholar tendering the weekly fee shall be refused admission for any reason but mental or physical incapacity, conviction of crime, or expulsion from some other school. The managers will have power to expel for misconduct.

4. The qualifications of teachers shall, when schools are in receipt of the Parliamentary grant, be the same as those required by the Government Code. In other cases they shall be such as shall be prescribed by the School Committee.

5. That the schoolrooms be healthy, &c.

6. That they be open forty weeks in the year.

The managers may after three months' notice withdraw from union.

VII. Every opportunity is given for providing schools. It will be the duty of the Committee to inquire into the school accommodation of the district, and when found insufficient, to give notice to the district. Any person, within sixty days after the notice, may serve on the School Committee, an undertaking to provide sufficient schools within twelve months. If he fail to commence work within six months, or within eighteen months to have the school in operation, the School Committee may provide it themselves. The Committee may either manage these schools themselves, or delegate their management to others.

This is a simple and fair analysis of the Bill which, though withdrawn for the present session, will next year, in all probability, become in substance the law of the land. We are not going to trouble our readers by a disquisition on its various objectionable points. Two features alone we shall refer to,—the local rate, whether voluntary or compulsory, and the conscience clause.* And our object in now referring to them again is to discover how we are to prepare to meet them should they become law, rather than speculatively to refute them. We pass by the Government Bill as harmless, but practically condemned. Mr. Bruce's Bill occasions us more anxiety. It behoves Catholics to consider how they are to comport themselves in the face of the changes which threaten them, how they should improve and strengthen their educational resources, and in what manner they should present themselves and their religion to the people of England.

In the first place, we are threatened with local school-rates, and what is infinitely more objectionable, with local committees to manage them. We know the low level of the parochial mind. We are familiar with the jobbery and prejudice which too often characterize union and municipal Boards and Councils. We have had experience of the pressure that the provincial clergyman and dissenting ministers are able to bring to bear upon the tradesmen who generally form such Boards. The shopman looks to the sale of his tea and sugar; to draw away his custom is like tapping his life. His vote is therefore in the hands of others. Under such circumstances,—and they are the ordinary circumstances,—a Catholic minority cannot expect fair and impartial treatment.

The business of these Boards will be to inspect and report upon local school wants; to determine the spot where the school shall

* Both of these subjects have been discussed at considerable length and in detail in a pamphlet on "Popular Education, the Conscience Clause, the Rating Clause, and the Secular Current." By Herbert Vaughan, D.D. Longmans, Green, & Co.

be placed ; if need be, to build it, and then to lay down, without appeal, the views, or principles, or religion on which the school shall be conducted. Thousands of our poor children for whom we are not able at present to provide schooling will be thus picked up and driven into Protestant, Dissenting, or secular schools. These Committee Schools once established, and under the control of the Board, the difficulties in our way of erecting Catholic schools for the reception of our own children will be infinitely increased, and our chances of local and Government aid will probably be cut off upon the plea that the school want has been already supplied by the school set up by the Board, and that our alternative is the use of the conscience clause. How unsatisfactory and unsuccessful such a course will be may be told us by the priests who visit our work-houses, and by the managers themselves of these dens of proselytism. It is the custom in many of these national establishments formally to notify to children that they may declare themselves Catholics, if they are such, and receive the ministration of the priest when he calls. But the declaration is too often made at the price of their small share of peace and social happiness. The same, no doubt, will be the case in the district schools we are now contemplating. Many of our children will not dare to proclaim their religion in the face of a rough and strong majority. Nothing is more powerful and constraining than the social petty persecution of a boy by his school companions.

Then, again, no child is to be exempted from the religious instruction and practices of the school unless his parent demand the exemption in writing. How many parents are as ignorant and as careless as their children ! How many are practically indifferent on the subject ! How many children have lost their parents ! Are they to be educated in whatever may chance to be the religion of the school, if it have a religion ?

Then there is a proposition to cover the country with local Boards of Education. We have something more to do than to lament the prospect. Now, if ever, is the time to forecast the danger and to prepare against it.

First of all, before Mr. Bruce's Bill becomes law, there is one modification in the compulsory rating clause which Catholics in and out of Parliament ought strenuously to contend for. It is based upon the experience of Canada, and is referred to by Mr. Fraser in his Report on the Common School System, p. 254. In Canada power is given to Catholics, Protestants, and coloured people to establish separate schools.

A Roman Catholic separate school may be established whenever any number of persons, not less than five, being heads of families and freeholders or householders, resident within day-school section, incorporated village or town, or within any ward of any city or town, and being Roman Catholics,

choose to convene a public meeting of persons desiring to establish a separate school for Roman Catholics in such section or ward, for the election of trustees for the management of the same.

The trustees of the separate school have the same duties and responsibilities as the trustees of a common school. They can impose, levy, and collect school rates or subscriptions upon and from persons sending children to, or subscribing towards, the support of such separate school.

Every person who gives notice in writing to the clerk of the municipality that he is a Roman Catholic, and a supporter of a Catholic school, is exempted from the common school rates.

The separate school is entitled to a share in all grants for education, except that accruing from the local assessment for common school purposes.

By this means the Catholic trustees rate their fellow Catholics in the district, who thereby become exempted from the common school rate, and are supporters of their own school. After sixteen years of legislation in Canada upon the subject of local rates and religion, this is the satisfactory law which was enacted in 1863, and has been in force since.

Let us bear this precedent in mind, and act accordingly.

And now, secondly, and this is our chief practical point and suggestion which we insist upon in this article;—what special means of self-protection and development are in the hands of English Catholics? A Catholic Poor School Committee. It came into existence twenty years ago by a joint act of the Bishops of England. It meets each year in London, representing fifteen dioceses in England and Scotland. It enjoys, on the one hand, the complete confidence of the bishops and clergy, and on the other hand it commands the respect and consideration of the Government. By far its most important function consists in its relation to the State, whereby it represents and protects the general interests of our Catholic Poor School system. Since it began its work, it has been the means of training about 600 men and women as teachers in normal schools, and has rendered to the country a general service of the highest importance. An annual collection is made in our churches and put at the disposal of the Committee, and the secretary receives the alms of any persons wishing to subscribe. During the first six years of its existence the average receipts of the committee were £3,223; during the last three years they have been £4,213; showing an increase of only about £1,000 a year upon the income raised twenty years ago. The total amount which has passed through the hands of the Committee in these twenty years is £109,401; and the summary of the grants of the Committee of Council to Catholic schools during the same period has been £376,059. We have drawn these details from the clear and interesting report which Mr. Allies, the able secretary of the Com-

mittee, has just published. The report concludes with a wise and prudent recommendation in these words :—

Our best, perhaps our only, security against the danger which it presents, the greatest and most fatal which could possibly arise,—the substitution, that is, of a system of secular instruction for an education on Christian principles as understood by the several religious communities among us,—is at once to ascertain the number of Catholic children requiring and not receiving education, and to make without delay a sustained and well-considered effort to provide them with schools under the actual system. Viewing the circumstances of the times, this would seem to be our wisdom, and surely it is not beyond our power (p. 25).

We need, as Mr. Allies most truly says, “a sustained and well-considered effort” to obtain a greater provision for our wants than we have at present. And we ask, has not the time come, or is it not at hand, when we shall require Diocesan or District Poor School Committees, acting in harmony with the central Poor School Committee in London ?

We shall do well to be beforehand, and prepared to meet the action of the educational Boards of ratepayers, with which we are threatened.

The natural functions of such Diocesan Catholic Poor School Committees would be :

First, to watch the conduct of the national local Boards of Education, when called into existence, just as the General Poor School Committee deals and would continue to deal with the action of the Committee of Council.

Secondly, to consider more in detail than the General Committee could, the particular necessities of their respective districts.

Thirdly, to afford aid to, and co-operate with, the local clergy in obtaining justice from Municipal or other Boards of Education, and in all ways to protect the interests of Catholics, especially where they are in small minorities.

Fourthly, to acquire all the local information possible in connection with the education of our poor ; and this being forwarded to the Central Committee, might be used most effectively in its dealings with Government.

Fifthly, the establishment of such local Committees would be the multiplication of centres, and therefore the multiplication of influences ; it would train men to interest themselves in the public business of education, and would fit them in time to become members of the Central Committee. It would penetrate and possess the entire Catholic community with a becoming zeal for our primary education. The same benefit would result to our Poor School education, which has accrued to the Church in general from the multiplication of dioceses.

And lastly, our educational fund, which is now miserably small, might by this means be at least doubled in a few years. It is urged that the Catholic community is poor. We have all the greater need, therefore, to improve our organization. We must collect not only the pounds, but the shillings and the pence. If our collections are small, it is because we fail to organize as the French do. The Englishman is naturally prodigal and careless of smaller things. We have yet to learn the science of organization: there is a heedlessness of detail which runs through everything, in the State as well as the Church. The French are the most successful organizers of detail in the world. In this country, perhaps, nothing comes up to the minutiae and method of the Wesleyan system, as shown at their central college in Westminster. These Diocesan or District Committees (for it might be inconvenient to form as many committees as there are dioceses) would naturally each have a secretary. His duty would be to organize collections, to travel from one congregation to another, and obtain the aid of sub-collectors, who would beg for shillings and pence. The secretary might be paid a percentage on the income collected, or a fixed stipend for his whole time. It would not require high attainments to fill such an office. Surely there are men among us who would gladly take up such a work. How many complain that they cannot find employment! Here, then, is an avocation next in importance to the priesthood—the providing Christian education for our people.

An objection presents itself—objections occur to everything—will not the establishment of Diocesan Committees destroy or weaken the influence of the Central Committee which meets in London, and drain off its resources?

We believe that the contrary will be the result. And we are warranted in the belief, not only by the thought that the multiplication of centres is the multiplication of interests, and the multiplication of interests is the multiplication of strength and efficiency, but by the experience of a body in the Established Church precisely analogous to our Poor School Committee. The National Society was for many years the only such Society in the Established Church. It was founded in the year 1811. In 1838 diocesan societies were formed all over England. The croakers declared that the National Society would be thereby doomed; that it would lose its influence; that the small local centres would absorb its funds, and that it might as well close its books at once. Facts disappointed this expectation, and that happened which always will happen in such cases, that there was generated a new activity and efficiency throughout the country; the National Society worked all the harder—its influence increased enormously through contact with the local organizations. From 1836-8 its funds never reached £3,000. They at once increased sixfold; and

their income for the current year is £17,672. We have it upon undoubted authority that the Diocesan Boards of Education, so far from draining the resources of the society, have, as affiliated institutions, indirectly contributed to its prosperity. They have made its wants and operations more widely known than would otherwise have been the case, and they have created and fostered an educational spirit which without them, would never have existed, or which would have always been inactive and languishing. It is the opinion of persons connected with the operation of the society, that were the Diocesan Boards of Education suppressed the income of the society, so far from increasing, would materially fall off.

The Diocesan Boards make their own collections, and apply them as they see needful on the spot. They report to the National Society the application they have made of their monies, and the National Society endeavours, whenever it is required, to double the grant made by the local Board. In a word, small energies and small funds which lie dormant are quickened into life by the more minute personal attention which they obtain from district or sub-committees. And the weight and influence of a general committee is increased tenfold by being backed and supported by the converging efforts of a number of local Boards.

The other main feature in Mr. Bruce's Bill to which we call a brief attention is the conscience clause.

The clause runs as follows :—

No scholar attending the school, with whatsoever Church or religious denomination such school may be connected, shall be required, when attending the school, to learn any Catechism or Religious Formulary (to which the parent of such scholar in writing objects), or to be present at any Lesson, Instruction, or Observance to which such objection has been made on religious grounds . . . and no scholar attending the school shall be required, as an attendant of such school, to attend or abstain from attending any Sunday School, or any place of religious worship.

It would be impossible to devise a wider or more comprehensive conscience clause than this. Not only is authority given to a parent to inhibit a school manager from teaching catechism or any religious formulary to his child, but he may also object to prayers being said in the presence of his child ; he may withdraw him from lessons in history and reading, because, as is obvious, the most important and most objectionable religious instruction may be conveyed through such lessons.

This is a much wider conscience clause than anything which has been till now proposed. If there is to be a conscience clause, it is more favourable to Catholic interests that it should be the widest possible ; in other words, that it should give us a power,

theoretically, at all events, of preventing those of our children who fall into Protestant schools from being taught heresy under the specious plea of learning to read. So far, this is true. But the conscience clause must be estimated by the effect it is likely to produce upon the nation at large. The wider the conscience clause, the nearer it approaches to mere secular education, the dream of Mr. Lowe and the Manchester school.

There is another form of injustice perpetrated by the conscience clause, which we omitted to point out on a former occasion. It is this. The cost of a school to managers is reckoned at from 30s. to 35s. per scholar. Now, by virtue of the conscience clause, wherever the Government contributes 10s. or 12s. a head or even a smaller sum towards the school, it obtains the power of constraining the manager to take charge of and educate all children who may present themselves, though they refuse to receive any religious instruction whatever. In other words, in consequence of a small government payment, the manager, are mulcted in the difference between the state aid and the actual cost of the education of each child. It surely is to add injury to insult, to compel a manager to pay two-thirds or one-half of the cost of the education of one who he is persuaded will, through the absence of religious instruction, turn out to be in the end, what the Duke of Wellington in reference to education without religion, called a "clever devil" rather than a conscientious Christian. Surely if the Government forces the education of a child upon a schoolmaster, the least it could do would be to pay the whole of the cost of its education, *i. e.*, to contribute 30s. or 35s. for every such child. It would thus avoid a financial injustice. But the liberal advocates of the conscience clause do not think of this.

Theoretically, and on paper, it is very well to say that the conscience clause is "based upon two liberties,—the liberty of teaching and the liberty of withdrawal;" but in practice, one of two things will inevitably result, in the long run. If the denominations are numerous and earnest, the simultaneous exercise of these two liberties will eventuate in abundance of ill-feeling, bad blood, and petty persecution. If, on the other hand, they are compromising, there will be a surrender of religious and doctrinal teaching altogether; and this will be replaced by doctrinal and religious indifference. This has been the case in the schools in Canada. Mr. Fraser informs us with regret that none of the denominations avail themselves of the power granted to them, under certain restrictions, of giving religious instruction to those of their children who are in the common school. The amalgamation of the sects in the Canadian School has led to an attempt at neutrality in religion—or to the secular system. It has been the same in Ireland, where, according to the report made by

the Commissioners of National Education for 1867, 29,481 Catholic children are being taught exclusively by Protestant teachers, and above 13,000, in part, by Protestant teachers ; that is to say that between 40,000 and 50,000 Catholic children are being educated wholly or in part by Protestant teachers in Ireland by the Government of the country.

Take the example of the United States. See how good intentions there have inevitably come to naught, under the fruitless attempt to reconcile incompatible principles. The common school in its present non-religious form was not adopted spontaneously and all at once in America. It grew out of circumstances similar to those which Mr. Bruce and his friends are seeking to bind together in England. It was forced upon them. They tried at first to reconcile a school-rate with religious education. They tried to do so and failed. Washington's dying injunction was, "*never allow education to be divorced from religion.*" But when rates were established, the ratepayers insisted upon controlling their disposal. The question of religion arose ; then came endless jealousies and dissensions ; then various schemes of compromise. Everything failed ; so, finally, religion was banished altogether from the school.

We may here refer to a lecture given in London last December by the Protestant Bishop of Tennessee, on the secular system of education adopted by the United States. The bishop has been considered a high authority on the subject, and has been listened to with marked attention and respect. He said :—

He was anxious to lay the secular system open before the meeting, because he believed it was a matter of profound interest, not simply to the Church, but to the people of England, of every name, denomination, or sect, that it should be well understood—that the people of England should understand well what they were doing, and not take another leap in the dark.

. . . . Mr. Fraser, in his report, said that the intellectual tone of the schools was high, and the moral tone not altogether unhealthy, but that the *religious tone* was altogether absent. There was just no religion at all in it. It was secular, and took no notice of God, or of Christ, or of the Church o the living God ; or, except in the most incidental way, of God's Holy Word. The intellect was stimulated to the highest degree, but the heart and affections were left uncultivated. It was a system which trained for the business of life, not for the duties of life. As there were differences of opinion about Christianity, it was not allowed to be spoken of, and a knowledge of it was not one of the qualifications for a teacher. A man might be a Mahomedan or a Hindoo, if he were only proficient in geography, arithmetic, or the exact sciences. The teachers in the normal schools might be infidels, provided they did not *openly* inculcate their scepticism ; and in point of fact, in the schools which were designed to train teachers only, *a vast majority were not Christians.* . . . It was quite true that in some schools—the number was comparatively

small—the Bible was read, and in some the Lord's Prayer was said ; but who could presume to call that Christian education ? Merely reading the Bible without explanation or comment was not instruction. What would be said of a military school where the professors only read a chapter or two on military tactics, but gave no lessons, made no comments, required no drill ? How could they expect mere reading the Bible to the young would make Christian men and women ? But in the great majority of the schools even that was not done. And so the youth of the country left the school ready in figures, skilful with the pen, well instructed in the anatomy of the body and the mechanism of the steam-engine, but utterly ignorant of the principles of duty, truth, religion, and honour—without knowing the Ten Commandments or the Apostles' Creed. The result was stated by the Rev. Dr. Cheever, that five-sixths of the people of the United States do not attend any place of public worship. It was this which made a distinguished Prussian remark, “ I came to your country to study its geography, its laws, its institutions, and I find 2,000 religions and nobody believing in a God.” He believed that this lamentable state of things grew out of the secular system. Fox, the founder of the first reformatory for children, very well asked, “ Of what use is it to a commonwealth that its rogues should know how to read, write, and cipher ? Those acquirements are only so many master keys put into their hands to break into the sanctuary of human society.”

Mr. Fraser says : “ If education is to be limited to secular education, it would not be far from the truth to say that very little is contributed from that source to the service of real morality.”

Statistics abundantly bear out these assertions. We have not space for many instances. A recent report of the Inspectors of Prisons in the State of New York says : “ Of the convicts in the Auburn prison, 468 had received no religious or moral instruction, and 512 had never read the Bible or attended Divine service.”

The chaplain of another prison makes the following frightful statement : “ Of 631 prisoners, 2 only were familiar with the Scriptures and had been well instructed in Christian doctrine. 204 of them were ignorant of the Saviour's name, and could not repeat the Lord's Prayer.”

Mr. Fraser, in his report, after speaking of the facilities afforded to the denominations in the common schools of Canada for religious instruction, concludes :—

But the fact remains, that mixed schools with religious instruction occupying a definite place in the programme, are a phenomenon hardly to be met with on the American continent. No compromise and no comprehension have yet been discovered sufficiently skilful to appease, or sufficiently tolerant to embrace, the mutual jealousies of Christian communities. It looks almost like a law of human nature that it shall be so everywhere. (p. 313).

In America, where the jealousy for personal liberty of conscience is certainly not less than in England, we are told that it has come to this,—that “anything of the nature of a creed, or which requires children to utter the phrase, *I believe*, is implicitly forbidden in all the schools; in some States it is forbidden in terms.”

Let us put a very conceivable case in one of our own towns or country manufacturing districts. A school is opened, and is composed of 50 Church of England children, of 30 Baptists, as many Catholics and Independents, of a dozen Methodists, a dozen Unitarians, and a dozen pure secularists; all the parents are jealous of anything like propagandism: it is manifest that the master could not conveniently send two-thirds of his school to play while he taught the remaining third their religious catechism; neither could he introduce doctrinal instruction into the history, geography, or reading-books. Now Mr. Bruce, in the course of the speech in which he introduced his Bill, said most truly that “religious truths were best taught by mingling them with secular instruction”; but it would be manifestly impossible to mingle religious doctrines with the secular instruction of a school composed of the denominations we have just enumerated. And Mr. Bruce, we are sure, would be the last person to advise that they should be introduced insidiously into the lessons, unperceived by children or parents. Hitherto the Government of this country has maintained that *some religion* is right and necessary as the basis of education. It has not professed to determine what that religion shall be, but it has accepted the broad principle that religion is the foundation of education. It therefore recognized the denominations, and aided them to educate the people. In the course of a few years the efforts of the denominations nearly doubled the number of children under education; then came Mr. Lowe, who detested the denominational system, and cut down the school grants with the Revised Code. After that, he and his followers declared that the denominations were not efficient, and ought not as such to be intrusted with the education of the people; that education ought to be purely secular, and must be made so as soon as possible. Then come in Mr. Bruce and his friends, who think that Mr. Lowe’s principles are very shocking; but by way of throwing a sop to the Radicals, they introduce a conscience clause. Mr. Bruce hereby declares that every denominational school shall be open to every other denomination; and that the children of the country are no longer to be educated upon a common *religious* ground, or trained in a common *religious* faith and atmosphere, as heretofore; but that in future they shall be encouraged to consort together like animals of the lower order, upon the basis of their common *earthly* and *secular* interests.

If Mr. Bruce’s Bill shall become law, the State will pledge itself

to substitute the secular for the religious basis, and to refuse assistance to any school which shall maintain the religious as the only admissible common ground of education.

As to the working of the conscience clause in Catholic schools, we have no fear that it would affect them injuriously at present. It would hang upon our walls and become obliterated with dust before its provisions were invoked by any number of dissident children. Protestants, as a rule, are a great deal too much afraid of the assimilating influence of the Catholic school-room to expose their children to its influence. What may become its action upon us in the course of years, it is not easy to determine. But Mr. Bruce's Bill leaves us a door of retreat by providing that after three months' notice any school may sever its connection with the local Board and Government, and pursue its own prudence.

II.

Hitherto we have been viewing the national tendency chiefly in respect to popular education, and we have suggested the formation of Local Catholic Committees in order to protect ourselves against it. Let us now examine the more directly religious tendencies of the nation, and ask ourselves how the Church may draw advantage out of these times of disruption in which we live.

The conscience clause, and the whole tendency of legislation on education, ought to be considered, not as an isolated feature, nor as an episode in the history of our day, but as part of the great moral movement which is affecting England from one end to the other. This movement is made up of various elements, which, however antithetical to one another, combine in producing at least one common result. Rationalism and infidelity no doubt has its hand in the great educational measures, as well as in the literature of the day ; its influence is to be felt in every direction. But it would be a misapprehension of the state of England, as mischievous as fallacious, to suppose that rationalism and infidelity are the only or even the principal elements at work in the religious disorganization which is going on around us. There is another power, greater than that of rationalism, which is working out what we may call the *religious disintegration* of the country. That power is no other than the grace of God outside the Church. The multitudes who are restless in the pursuit of truth and of inward peace are stirred by the grace of God. They are restless because they have not found the truth, and must continue restless till they rest in Him, who is the Truth. Such restlessness is an effect of grace.

We do not apprehend that the nation is going over to rationalism. Rationalism is a strong current through the country rather than an

ocean submerging it. In spite of the fearful advances of infidelity, which eats into the vitals of the established Church, and preys upon the masses of the people, we must not shut our eyes to the increased religious tendency which is discernible in the population. We may illustrate it by three facts : first, the multiplication of churches and chapels by all denominations, and the increased attendance at them ; secondly, the general result of the May meetings, which have shown a very large increase of income for religious purposes ; thirdly, the very discords and dissensions in the Protestant communion, which are as strong a proof of religious earnestness of a certain sort as of infidelity and rationalism, or the denial of revelation. There are good men also who even advocate the conscience clause in schools, in the fond hope that some hidden avenue to religious peace and security may open out through its adoption. This religious restlessness among Protestants gives hope. To be at peace in error would be to die in it. Thousands are approaching nearer and nearer to the harbour of truth and rest, though still amid the sands and reefs. Many have entered into the calm. We lift up our hands to Heaven for those who are still struggling outside. In their perplexity may they sight the unerring lighthouse. It is as though God had called up the storm, in order to bring home the independent and unwise adventurers who, without skill or compass, had gone out too far.

The Catholic Church has a clear and undoubted mission to this country. Her manner of accomplishing it varies with times and circumstances. Let us take a rapid survey of the religious state of England at this moment. We shall thus more accurately discern our opportunities, and the particular course of action towards which we ought to bend our energies.

An impenetrable barrier of religious bigotry has been set up against the Church. Since the days of Edward the Sixth one continuous effort has been made by the ministers of religion to keep the people of England in ignorance of the Catholic faith. This has been the strength of Protestantism. The dissolution of Protestantism will be the illumination of the people. When knaves fall out, good men come by their own.

What, then, is the moral position of the Anglican denomination at this moment ? It is torn and distracted by internal divisions, and lies split into three great factions—the Rationalistic, the Evangelical, and the Ritualistic, or, as they call it, the Catholic party. Nothing but the golden cords which bind the Anglican denomination to the State and its consequent prestige and political power, hold these three factions in even nominal communion. The Evangelical Congress which met in London in May declared “that the policy of Mr. Gladstone was to be resisted, because, if carried out, the Church of England would at once fall into two or three

distinct and separate communions." At the same time, a solemn protest was entered against spiritual men, whose lives are modelled upon evangelical tenets, taking part in politico-religious contentions. Nevertheless, £40,000 were raised by these spiritual men to carry on Parliamentary action.

An appeal has already been made by certain members of the Catholicising school to their confrères to shake off the trammels with which the State connection has bound their communion. The Rationalists, whether on the bench of bishops, in the professorial chair, or in the pulpit, are defiant of legal consequences, and their ranks are added to day by day. The Establishment has heard the distant knell of its own existence. For 300 years it persecuted Catholic and Dissenter, and only relented when the people had forsaken it in millions for Catholicity, Dissent, or Rationalism. It became tolerant, when it ceased to have the power to persecute. The day of fitting retribution—its legal disestablishment and disendowment in this country—is not far distant.

The English Protestant bishops, by coming publicly into court to protest against the divorce of the Establishment in Ireland, have invoked public attention to their own position, and by an act of their own have connected their own cause with the judgment which must inevitably fall upon their brother bishops across the Channel.

In addition to the despair of disorganization within, a most powerful organization without has been growing up and compactly forming itself among the English people, to which we have hitherto paid but little attention. It is the "Liberation Society," and has for its sole object the disestablishment and disendowment of the State Church. It has been twenty-four years in existence, and has been steadily strengthening and pursuing its aim. It is spread throughout the kingdom; and if it does not yet reckon many peers and men of the highest social rank it can claim without boast to represent the bone and sinew of the country. Last May the Society held its triennial conference in London. Eight hundred delegates, representing 300 towns in England, Scotland, and Wales, sat for three days in a kind of parliament. Their deliberations were as orderly, as earnest, and as honest as those which take place in more honoured assemblies. They were characterized by no infidel and rationalistic animus, but by a religious spirit, and a rare absence of anti-Catholic bigotry. The organization is extended over too large a basis and is too solid and too popular to be foiled of success, when the hour of trial comes. At this moment the Establishment is in a minority. In 1851, it was found by Mr. Horace Mann that while there were 34,467 places of worship in England, more than half that number, or 18,077, belonged to the Dissenters. In the manufacturing

districts the Establishment was everywhere in a minority; and, of the worshipping population, only 52 per cent. were at that time estimated to belong to the Established Church. Since that date it is supposed that this proportion has considerably decreased.

But a far more significant fact than all this is, that the National Education of the country, in all its endowed departments, is being rudely torn out of the hands of the Anglican denomination. Of all measures this is the most radical. It is putting the spade under the roots.

First, as to the education of the lower classes. We are aware, and we gladly record it, that the National Society, which was created for "the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church," distinctly declined at a special meeting to accept even the Duke of Marlborough's form of conscience clause. But the National Society is not the Church of England. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and most of the Anglican Prelates have committed themselves either to the limited conscience clause of the President of the Council, or to the universal application of such a conscience clause as is advocated by the Liberals. And so it turns out that they who from their position ought to be the champions of religious education, either through puerile timidity or through compromising with incompatible principles, or through downright Rationalistic convictions, are abandoning the exclusively religious basis of education in order, as Mr. Fraser has put it, "that the managers of Church schools may be compelled to provide secular education for the children of Atheists." The National Society has for twelve years been denouncing the "conscience clause" as a "breach of contract, a denial of equity, a grievance of conscience, and a great danger to Religion." But if the Bishops are found wavering and unfaithful, what else can we expect than that the 20,000 poor schools of the Society will be soon thrown open to the use and influence of the ten millions of Dissenters who may choose to avail themselves of this newly-acquired right.

Then, as to the schools for the gentry and the middle classes, the Select Committee which has been sitting upon the public schools, such as Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Winchester, &c., and the commissioners who have reported upon the endowed grammar-schools for the middle classes, such as the Blue Coat Schools, Charterhouse and Westminster, recommend that these institutions should be withdrawn from the exclusive use and control of the Anglican denomination, and thrown open, upon certain conditions, to the whole population.

In like manner the Universities—once the exclusive arsenals of Anglicanism—are becoming the common property of her foes. Houses of education are to offer homes to all denominations. The

denominations have begun to build their Babel. At the same time intellectual license reigns as never before in England, and a rationalistic tone is a fashion in every grade of society, not only among men, but among women of high and low degree. The press caters to the appetite: twenty years ago we had one *Examiner* and one *Weekly Dispatch*; we now have twenty such.

Let us hear Lord Shaftesbury. We respect his earnestness. He describes our time as "days of disruption and distrust, where all seems to be breaking up in one common wreck; days of blasphemy and of fearful advances in infidelity and superstition." And again, in a speech in May as President of the Ragged Schools, he said: "Depend upon it, the time is coming when we shall be exposed to such storms and difficulties, to such new opinions and theories, to such menaces on the one side, and such timidity on the other, that he must be almost more than man who will be able to govern this great empire." Nor is Lord Shaftesbury a solitary mourner. The organs of many of the denominations are equally alive to the religious revolution at work, and the infidel press sniffs victory in the breeze, and hails the coming time.

As to the permanent and steady advance of the Catholic Church, we have not a single fear. Lowering and black and tempestuous as the storm may be, a streak of light is discernible in the eye of the wind. The wonderful providence of God, qui facit ex tenebris lucem splendescere, out of the "disruption and distrust" which fills the empire, will save innumerable souls by revealing to them the one divinely ordained gate of salvation—the Catholic Church. The Church gains in strength and numbers, though deprived of all secular support, wherever she becomes known, as she is, in her doctrines and sacraments. *Respic Stellam.* As a justification of this assertion, even at the expense of being prolix, we must refer to the example of the United States. The general character of the Anglo-Saxon race, whether in America or in England, is the same. Besides identity of blood, there has been identity of Protestant feeling. Both nations are material, proud, and masterful, inordinate lovers of independence, and distracted by religious discord. But the American temperament reaches its conclusions more rapidly than the English. The exciting nature of the atmosphere, the youth and the experimental character of their institutions all conduce to this. Ours is a more phlegmatic climate, and we are heavily weighted by old and venerable traditions.

Now, one result in America of the legal equality of all sects before the law, and of the infidel liberalism which demanded secular schools as a boon, and of the religious disorganization which accepted them as a necessity, has been the breaking down of anti-Catholic prejudices, and the manifestation of the Church to the people. Catholics in America have leavened the popula-

tion far more than they have yet done in England. In America, Catholic Colleges and Convents, and Catholic poor schools, are daily becoming more and more the resort of a population which has not yet embraced the Faith. We have the instructive testimony of no less prejudiced an authority than the Bishop of Oxford. In a speech at Tunbridge Wells a few months ago, in support of the National Society, he said :—

I am convinced that wherever one set of religionists *teaches its system thoroughly*, and others are cramped in their teaching, *the former will in the long run get hold of the population*. There is a very remarkable instance of this going on in that nation which is most cognate to ourselves—the American. One of the most thoughtful of those visitors who came over on your Grace's invitation said that at this moment the Roman Catholics were getting hold of the working people of America ; for this reason, that they are founding everywhere the very best schools for the poor, and are teaching them without let the whole of their belief. We, on the other hand, as far as we are helped by the State, are not allowed to teach the whole of our faith, and in consequence we are losing, and they are gaining, the education of the people. Let England [he sagaciously concludes] take warning in time.

In the midst of the religious anarchy of the United States, and as a revolt from the excesses of a system of education without religion, the sounder part of the population is deliberately turning to the Catholic Church. Only a few days ago, we were informed upon reliable authority, that a town of 800 or 900 inhabitants sent a deputation to the Catholic bishop to ask for a priest and a church. "How many Catholics live there?" said the bishop. "None at present," was the reply ; "but we must have some religion ; and what we have witnessed in the civil war has convinced us that your religion is the truth." A similar example, we are assured, occurred in a second and a third town. During the civil war, it is said that over half a million were received into the Catholic Church. Statistics as to the Catholic population of the United States vary considerably. Dr. Henry B. Smith, a Protestant divine of the Theological Seminary, U.S., has published a paper of statistics, from which it appears that the Catholics form nearly one-half of those professing to belong to any religion whatever in the United States. He puts down the number of Catholic communicants at four millions. F. Hecker puts the Catholics down at five millions. But we hear from another American publication that the Catholics at the present day are to be reckoned at from seven to nine millions ; perhaps this includes Canada. This is given as certain, that since 1850, the number of churches has nearly tripled, and within the last seven years the clergy and laity have increased 50 per cent. We have also noted how the non-Catholic newspapers of Philadelphia, Boston, and New York

are bewailing the steady advance of Popery, and are speculating on what will happen when it shall become the dominant religion in the States!

From the encouraging example of America, we return to England. Hitherto, our converts have come in a larger proportion from the higher than from the middle and lower classes. The former are more in contact with Catholics at home and abroad, and are more instructed and enlightened. To these should be added that large and respectable Catholicising school whose studies and devotions are from Catholic sources.

But of the middle and lower classes, as such, we have hardly more than touched the skirts. They live in the shade of a religious ignorance of Popery, and the ministers of all denominations combine to darken that shade. It is unnecessary to enter into proof of this: the May meetings of the present year have borne their testimony. Their common feature, their family likeness, has been misrepresentation of the Catholic Church. These meetings are led chiefly by clergymen, a few ardent lay followers, and paid officials; and the opportunity to poison the English mind against Rome is never lost. "No Popery" has become the episcopal recipe to quiet "sibilant geese," and to stir the energy and to obtain the money of unenlightened zealots.

We have a lesson to learn—even from the enemy. If we cannot bring the public to our churches to become informed and disabused of their prejudices, we must go to their homes and speak to them in the silent manner in which they have been accustomed to learn amiss concerning us. The weapons of error must be turned back upon themselves.

The "Book Society for Promotion of Religious Knowledge among the Poor" held its 118th anniversary in May. It reported that within eight months it had distributed 250,000 copies among the ignorant poor of that exploded and mendacious fabrication, "Foxe's Book of Martyrs." The society has brought out an edition this week for twopence, and it is advertised as "the most effectual counteractive to Popery." The "Religious Tract Society," with an income exceeding £113,000, is equally famous for its anti-Catholic lore. It reports a circulation for the past year of 40,991,763 publications, being two million and a half beyond that of the previous year. This Society, with the British and Foreign Bible Society, whose income this year has reached £186,596, are designated by one of its members as the "two great arms of the Christian Church—the two grand missionary institutions against Romanism."

Now it may be all very well for Catholics to look with contempt on the action of these engines of evil, and to console themselves with the thought that "magna est veritas, et prævalebit." But for

our part we believe we are yet behindhand in those industries of propaganda which are used so largely and deliberately "against Romanism."

The Holy See, on three different occasions within the last few years, has encouraged the formation of societies for the diffusion of Catholic truth through the press. The Congress of Malines gave a special prominence to this subject in its public deliberations, and Book and Tract Societies have already been formed in Germany, France, and Belgium. We have not space for many words at present, but we cannot understand why in England we should not now begin to avail ourselves systematically of the press to circulate Catholic truth among the middle and lower classes. We cannot reach them otherwise. In New York there is a Catholic Tract Society, which is distributing its fly-sheets at every ferry, through every street over the States, and is awakening inquiry with considerable success. Cannot we do the same? We have ascertained that suitable Catholic tracts can be printed at the following rates: 5,000 for £2, or 10,000 for £3; or 50,000 for £10. The chief expense would be in the distribution, and this can be arranged by special facilities which are at command. An organization is being set on foot in London, called "The Catholic Truth Society for the Better Information of the English People." It is at present in its infancy, but we hope that before long it will develop and spread throughout all the large centres of population in England and Ireland.

We are persuaded that, were prejudices and misrepresentations removed, the English people would return in joy and gladness to the old religion, which gave them civilization, and made them a nation. Already the doctrines of Seven Sacraments, of a Perpetual Sacrifice, of the Real Presence, of the Power of the Keys, the Honour of Mary, the Invocation of Saints, Prayers for the Dead, and a supremacy at least, of honour, in the Holy See, are spreading all over England. Legislation and contempt, and rampant bigotry cannot arrest their acceptance by the people. These have been poured out, and they have served to spread the knowledge of doctrine. Moreover, Catholic ceremonial and Catholic ritual have been accepted, not as vain and empty forms, but as the appropriate clothing of their doctrines. Wherever a *Catholicising* clergyman settles, the children fall under his influence; a congregation is formed, and quickly becomes the most devout and best attended in the neighbourhood. The people learn, with some mistakes, nearly the whole circle of Catholic doctrine, though the key-stone of the arch is left out—the supremacy of Peter, the centre and bond of unity. They accept faith in every sacerdotal power, though, unlike the Greek, the Anglican orders are invalid; and even were they valid, as the Greek are, yet they lack jurisdiction,

as the Greek also do. Facts, then, seem to justify the belief that, prejudice once removed, the English would return to the faith at last as the prodigal son returned home after his long absence.

III.

The free distribution of Catholic literature will do much : but much more is needed to remove those monstrous anti-Catholic ideas which are set round the popular mind as a hedge of thorns.

We venture, therefore, to throw out another suggestion ; or rather, we may say, Catholic France inspires a suggestion. We have much to learn from her wise and minute system of organization. After the French revolution, the Church in France had to deal with a people that hated religion in a way of which we in England have no conception. How has she accomplished her mission of regeneration ? The first Napoleon saw it when he declared that "France is saved by her women."

If there is one feature more than another which characterises the action of the Church in France, it is the mission of her women. It is a mission exercised with such tact, such energy, and such success, that it can be denied neither by friend nor foe. It is the horror of M. Duruy, the infidel Minister of Instruction, whose immoral tactics to corrupt the education of women the Bishop of Orleans has been obliged so ruthlessly to expose and defeat ; and it is the joy of the French people. In no country of the world has the external work and influence of women been so perfectly organized and utilized as in France. It is said that there are 80,000 women in France whose lives are devoted to the service of religion. The Sisters of Charity alone number something like 18,000. We are informed that, taking one diocese with another, there is an average of about 1,000 Sisters at work upon the population in each diocese.

A large number of these are employed in the education of the young. They are not always the best instructors, but everywhere they are the best educators. We have great pleasure in quoting the testimony of Mr. Matthew Arnold, the Assistant Commissioner who was sent by the English Government to inspect and report upon the Schools of Primary Education on the Continent. To his hereditary interest in education Mr. Arnold adds a long and varied experience ; and perhaps there is no one who has written upon education with greater candour. We quote a sentence or two from his report, which appears in the "Blue Book" of the Assistant Commissioners :—

In Paris (he says) the instruction in the schools of the Sisters is commonly inferior, the inspectors told me, to that of the lay girls' schools. In the provinces it is not so ; not, perhaps that the Sisters' schools are there better, but that the

lay schools are worse. Apart from the mere instruction, however, there is even in Paris, something in the Sisters' schools which pleases both the eye and the mind, and which is more rarely found elsewhere. There is the fresh, neat school-room, almost always cheerfuller, cleaner, more decorated than a lay school-room ; there is the orderliness and attachment of the children ; finally, there is the aspect of the Sisters themselves, in general of a refinement beyond that of their rank in life—of a gentleness which even beauty in France mostly lacks—of a tranquillity which is evidence that their blameless lives are not less happy than useful. If ever I have beheld serious yet cheerful benevolence, and the serenity of the mind pictured on the face, it is here. Is it then impossible—I perpetually asked myself in regarding them—is it then impossible for people no longer under the world's charm, or who have never felt it, to associate themselves together, and to work hopefully, combinedly, and effectually, unless they have first adhered to the doctrines of the Council of Trent ? (p. 71).

Again,—

I am profoundly convinced that the population generally prefers the schools of religious associations to lay schools. With respect to girls' schools, there cannot be a moment's doubt ; the Sister's advantage is utterly beyond the reach of competition.

But the Sisters are not engaged only, or even principally, in school-teaching. In the school they become familiar with the children ; but the children leave school, and form the population. Their work must continue beyond the school—it must be from the cradle to the grave, like that of the guardian angels. It is not only the child that requires guidance, but also the man and the woman. It is not only the youthful and plastic mind, specially open to religious impression, that requires them, but the mind of the sorrowful, of the unfortunate, of the poor, of the sick and the dying. The Sister's mission, then, is beyond the school. If four Sisters form a little community, at least two will be engaged in works outside the school. If the community is of ten or twelve, two or three will be in the school, and the rest may be seen ministering among the poor of the parish, or at the bedside of the sick, or looking up children and their parents. Each diocese has its regiments of devoted Sisters, picketed, as it were, in every city and town ; nor is any country parish or village admitted to be *au grand complet* without its Sisters in the school and among the population. The effect produced throughout France by the life and action of the Sisters is that of a devout and tender mother amid the children in her own home, rather than that of charitable ladies who condescend to visit the poor. The people feel that they have a kindly right and property in the Sisters, and that they, on the other hand, belong to the Sisters. When the Mexican expedition was planned, the Emperor got regiments to volunteer by promising

to send with them Sisters of Charity to nurse and care for them. The colliers in the south of France, some years ago, struck work, and then imposed, as a condition of their resuming labour, that their families in the villages should be provided with Sisters to watch over them. Men and women, old and young, all alike prefer the services of *ma bonne sœur* to any other. They penetrate where the priest dare not show himself; their gentleness and charity, like oil poured out, softens and reduces the roughest and coarsest natures. It is the influence of the mother and the sister preserved by religion over the whole population.

Two circumstances connected with the fulfilment of their mission in France are noteworthy. First, it is not looked upon as of primary necessity to erect large and magnificent convents, imposing Gothic buildings, as the dwellings of Sisters. The people are often apt to pass to and fro by the high convent wall, the carefully locked doorway, and feel no common cause with those who live within, except so far as those within come out and mix as leaven with the population. The French system is the multiplication of small centres; poor and humble little convents satisfy their ambition. These are dotted up and down among the dwellings of the people, and, externally, are scarcely distinguishable from them. The poor are not abashed by having to approach houses which appear to be raised above them by pretensions to style and large proportions. They often consist of an ordinary domestic house, of which one room is turned into a little oratory, and the rest is simple and poor as the dwellings of the people. The whole community within, perhaps, is two or three Sisters. Their lives are spent among the people; now and then, perhaps once a year, they return to their mother or centre house for a retreat, and then, perhaps, are sent to another parish or diocese.

Secondly, no one can help being struck with the immense number and variety of Congregations which have sprung up in France. As needs arise in the Church, so the Holy Ghost bestows His gifts. And thus He has multiplied Congregations in France suited to every taste or attraction, with a generosity and largeness which is little understood by those who would narrow His action, and confine His inspiration to the venerable Orders which have come down to us from the middle ages and still earlier times. Many of these congregations have simple vows, which they renew from year to year; some have no vow at all, but only a promise or intention to persevere. Many send their members to reside in parishes as missionaries, two and two together; some send them even as units. They are nearly all under the jurisdiction of the bishop, and are directed by the parochial clergy, with whom they co-operate. They all have their distinctive religious dress, which is the protection of the individual, the badge of charity and tenderness towards all,

and the sign of a consecration to God, which all reverence and protect. Of such value is the religious dress felt to be, that the Sisters of Charity were not permitted to come to England until it was safe for them to wear their habit as publicly here as in the rest of the world.

We have dwelt at some length upon the example set us by the Church in France, because we believe that God may be pleased in England, as in France, to spread faith and charity, to bring about the conversion of the people by the gentle and devoted influence of women as much as by the Apostolate of men. There is an immense Apostolate for women in England. There is a work before them which men cannot do, and if they could, few have the devotedness and longsuffering needed for it, and fewer still have the time. To put it commercially and from a mere business point of view, a man costs twice as much as a woman, and he is twice as much in demand by the business and trade of the world; and were it otherwise, he is not precisely the article in demand by the requirements which are upon us. We have referred to the important and most difficult work of removing the mass of prejudice against the Catholic Church which exists among the middle and lower classes in England. We believe that there is no more effectual means of removing this than by the instrumentality and zeal of women who consecrate themselves to God for this purpose. The most successful missions to the Indians on the Three Rivers, and to the Esquimaux, to the heathens in China, Tonquin, and India, to the negroes of Africa, and to the islands of the Pacific, are precisely those in which the feebler sex has poured forth its sympathy and generosity, and bent all its energies to the work of conversion. The missioner who embarks upon his apostolic career in some distant land feels that his power is more than doubled by the Sisters who consecrate themselves to the salvation of souls on the same mission. It is so in France, it is so in Belgium, it is so in the United States; it will be so in England.

We have not been here speaking of the influence which Religious women exercise upon the Catholic children, whom they educate. We have been referring to the power which may be brought to bear upon those who are grown up, and upon the masses who are external to the Church. The Apostles used the services of women from the earliest time, and made mention of them in their Epistles for our instruction. How touching is St. Paul's commendation of the women who laboured with him in the early Church! "I commend to you Phœbe, our sister, who is in the ministry of the Church, that is in Cenchre: that you receive her in the Lord as becometh Saints; and that you assist her in whatsoever business she shall have need of you. For she also hath assisted many, and myself also. . . .

Salute Mary, who hath laboured much among you; salute Tryphena and Tryphosa, who labour in the Lord," &c.

And did not our Divine Lord draw into His service a number of holy women "who, when he was in Galilee followed Him and ministered to Him, and many other women that came up with Him to Jerusalem." These gathered the crowds around their Master, and "stood without" while He spake to the multitude. Women, then, were "in the ministry of the Church" from the beginning. And now, perhaps more than ever before, the angel of our people calls many a sister to work "secretly, saying: the Master is come, and calleth for thee." Happy they who will quickly arise and follow Him, for they shall be joined to the Apostolate of their Lord, and associated with Himself in achieving His highest work upon earth.

The English people entertain a reverence and respect for Sisters which is very remarkable, considering how Protestantism for 300 years has rejected and defamed the idea of a woman consecrating herself to the service of God in religion. The poor Anglican Sisters, who began a few years ago under a storm of obloquy and persecution, without a Catholic training, and without the graces of the Faith, have already reached the affections of the poor. As far as they have been able, they have studied the system of the Catholic Church, and have endeavoured to follow out what appeared to them best under the circumstances. May our Divine Lord look down upon the generosity of their lives, and draw them into the truth to serve Him in company with Mary, His Blessed Mother, and the holy women who know Him indeed. These sisterhoods are multiplying in all directions, and are endeavouring, like the French, to spread themselves out among the population. They prove one thing,—the willingness of the English people to accept their services and to be moulded by them, even though they bring to them a number of Catholic practices, which lead them on even to the threshold of the Catholic Church.

Let us not be supposed to insinuate that our Catholic nuns and sisters have not yet initiated a career of charity among the masses of the people. The Little Sisters of the Poor, and the Sisters of Charity, and others, are becoming known and appreciated. But at present the work of our Sisters lies much more *in the schools* than *among the people*. One of our great losses is among our children, boys and girls, after they leave school. They drop into the ocean of life around them, and are often lost to us for years. No power would be more effectual to keep them faithful and steady than that of Sisters, who should be as busy amongst the people as they are habitually amongst the children in their schools.

But numbers are wanting; our Sisters are as hard worked as they can be: it is not every devout person that has a vocation

to the religious life. Now this brings us to the suggestion. There are in every large mission a certain number of devout ladies whose time is their own. They occupy themselves in many works of charity, but for want of being collected together under a rule and organization, the fruit they produce is comparatively small. Now, it is by collecting together such persons as these in France that many of the new congregations come into existence. But without thinking of new Congregations, there are the old Organizations of secular Tertiaries, instituted by Saints, which might be brought into much greater activity in the midst of us. They have a rule, a spirit, and a distinctive habit of their own ; they consecrate themselves to the service of God and of their neighbour, without binding themselves by the vows of religion ; they have in some respects a freer organization than Religious, which allows them to pursue with greater freedom a variety of useful works of charity, and admits the services of persons who have no vocation to the religious life. They have a distinctive habit which, as a robe of charity, protects them from evil, and as a spiritual uniform, reminds them of the conduct due to the sanctity of their state. In Belgium and parts of Germany, many Tertiaries, wearing their habit, live even in their own families. Elsewhere they live together under the same roof, and combine in the same duties of charity. We are not speaking without examples before our mind of what we mean at home, as well as abroad ; nor are we, in these pages, attempting to enter into details, which would be out of place. But the thought of the disintegration in English society, which is likely to be effected by the educational measures now before the country, by the breaking up of the Establishment, the spread of liberalism, and the religious confusion and restlessness of the population, naturally suggests the reflection we have thus briefly dwelt upon.

What advance can the Catholic Church make to dispel the prejudices of the people, and to enter more intimately into the life of the masses ? We may sum up in three words what we have been endeavouring to suggest to our readers in answer to this question. To us it seems that the time has come for the formation of local poor school committees. We have briefly pointed out the want and the possibility of establishing what may be called, "a Catholic Truth Society for the better information of the English people ;" and we believe that in addition to this, we cannot better provide for the exigencies of our country than by considering the example of Catholic France, and weighing well the truth contained in the words of that astute general and legislator, the first Napoleon : "France is saved by her women."

ART. VIII.—MR. RENOUF ON POPE HONORIUS.

The Condemnation of Pope Honorius. By P. LE PAGE RENOUF. London : Longmans.

WHEN we say that the views advocated by Mr. Renouf are most untrue and mischievous, he will accept this as the greatest compliment we can pay him ; but we must further give our opinion that his pamphlet is passionate, shallow, and pretentious. Every reader will have been struck with its passionateness. The arguments "used by the first apologists of Pope Honorius *cannot have been sincerely believed in by their authors*" (p. 7). "*It is a simple untruth* to say that he was condemned for neglect" (p. 11). "*It is sheer dishonesty*" to argue in one particular way (p. 12). "*Nothing can be more grossly untrue* than the assertion that Honorius was misled by Sergius" (p. 14). "This very man," the Abbot John, secretary to two Popes, to whose great virtue S. Maximus gave testimony, gave "*a lying account* of the controversy," being "*an interested and mendacious witness*" (pp. 15-16). "*Stupid bigotry alone*" can urge a certain plea for Honorius (p. 18). "*It is a mockery*" to say, what all Ultramontanes say, that Honorius's Letter to Sergius was not ex cathedrâ (p. 21). Under F. Perrone's "*contemptible quibbling*" "*we have the assertion of an untruth*" (p. 24, note). "*It is impossible to speak without contempt*" of a certain "*assertion*" which has repeatedly been made by great writers (p. 32). M. Veuillot is "*a fiery, ignorant, and unscrupulous convert*" (p. 39). "*Of all the early testimonies*" concerning S. Liberius's alleged fall, which many recent Ultramontanes have rejected, there is "*only one about which an honest doubt can be entertained*" (p. 44). The Bollandist dissertation on S. Liberius is "*one of the most mischievous productions ever written*" (ib., note) ; as mischievous, we suppose, as Réau's life of Christ ; or as a French licentious novel.

Twenty-five years ago Mr. Renouf, then a very recent convert, wrote a pamphlet called "*The Character of the Rev. W. Palmer as a Controversialist.*"* Now we are not so unreasonable as to

* Mr. Renouf's name indeed is not put to this pamphlet : but there was never any concealment about its authorship ; any more than about the authorship of certain articles in this REVIEW, which F. Ryder and others have unhesitatingly ascribed to their known writer, Dr. Ward.

count it any argument against Mr. Renouf's present views, that they differ *toto cœlo* from those which he then advocated ; but we *are* surprised that his impression of *facts* is now so different. "The principal Gallican divines," he then thought (p. 70, note), "were worldly men"; and "it is a matter of constant experience" that "sanctity of life produces Ultramontanes." But now his view of these facts has been revolutionized. "The charge of worldliness, which the opponents of Gallicanism are so fond of bringing against it,"—which Mr. Renouf himself brought so confidently against it on the ground of "constant experience,"—"is one of the most absurd that could have been invented" (p. 39). In his earlier days he deprecated (p. 19, note) all "revival of the loathsome carcase of Gallicanism"; little anticipating his own future labours for the resuscitation of that "loathsome carcase." Well, these words manifestly imply, that Gallicanism at that time was almost extinct; yet now (p. 39) he "well remembers the time when, among secular priests," *Ultramontanism* "could hardly be said to exist." Mr. Renouf is not so very old a man. If twenty-five years ago Gallicanism was almost extinct, we do not understand how he can remember a time when Ultramontanism was hardly known. As to facts then, there is certainly considerable discrepancy between our author's earlier and later performance; but as to tone and spirit, there is much similarity. In 1843 he regarded Gallican tenets with no less bitter contempt, than that which he entertains in 1868 towards Ultramontane. Gallicanism, we have seen, is "a loathsome carcase." "Du-Pin, Fleury, Launoy, and other Gallicans," are controversially "worthless" (p. 7, note). Du-Pin, in particular, is an "unprincipled writer," and his "assertions bold and shameful" (p. 26). "Gallican and Jansenistic writers" are placed in the same category (p. 19). Nay, he speaks as though Gallicans belonged to a different communion from himself. When Mr. Palmer quotes Gallican authorities, Mr. Renouf replies (p. 7, note), "If he means to quote ad hominem, he might as well quote Luther or Calvin." It really seems as though Mr. Renouf could never firmly hold any one opinion, without treating all dissentients as fools or knaves, and as more probably the latter.

The higher and more Catholic-minded Gallicans—Bossuet and Tourneley are conspicuous instances—ever speak with profound reverence of the Holy See, even when opposing what they consider exaggerated claims in its behalf. Passing to what is now before our eyes, no one can read F. Ryder's pamphlets, without seeing everywhere traces of the same loyal and Catholic spirit; and he emphatically claims the "pietas fidei" as due to those pronouncements, which he will not account strictly infallible. Mr. Renouf is quite proof against all such weakness, and seems a

stranger to the very notion of "pietas fidei." He dwells energetically on what he considers the actual and possible heresy of Popes, without having one word of homage and gratitude for the noble constancy exhibited by the Roman See, in preserving the Catholic Faith through successive ages under every circumstance of trial and suffering. We regret this for his own sake, while we rejoice in it for the sake of truth. No one will be bribed by Mr. Renouf's *tone* to place too high a value on his *principles*.

Then, his self-confidence throughout is quite wonderful. This indeed is sufficiently manifested by his contemptuous expressions, already quoted, towards the greatest theologians. It is manifested also throughout an amazing letter addressed by him to the "Westminster Gazette" (June 20). "I should really like to be judged," he says, not by such inferior persons as the "Westminster Gazette" reviewer; but "*by my peers*; that is, by men who have studied . . . as long, as carefully, and as conscientiously *as I have*." There are large materials for such a jury. Then again. "The Popes have for a long time claimed the privilege of infallibility" (p. 27); yet our author sees clearly through the baselessness of such a claim, which is indeed "demonstrably untenable" (p. 40). He considers himself to have "demonstrated" the "untenability" of a dogma, which, for many centuries at all events, has been consistently laid down as the one basis of the Church's orthodoxy, by that personage whom an Ecumenical Council has declared to be "the Teacher of all Christians." Take another instance. Mr. Renouf might suitably enough have said that he had met with no theologian, earlier than the sixteenth century, who draws the now common distinction between a Pope speaking as a private person and pronouncing as Universal Teacher. But this would be too cautious a statement for his taste. "The distinction," he says peremptorily, "was *never heard of*" (p. 31), before the Reformation. Now Billuart is not so obscure a writer, but that Mr. Renouf should have read his *treatise de Summo Pontifice* before writing as he has written; and Billuart quotes an address against Boniface VIII., presented by the French nobles to Clement V. in the year 1305, which is somewhat to the purpose. "The inquiry," they say, "is not concerning the late Pope *as Pope*, but as a *private person*; for *as Pope* he could not be heretical." ("De Regulis Fidei," Diss. 4 a 5, s. 5.) The remark is not very accurately expressed; though of this, as we shall see in the course of our article, M. Renouf is not the person to complain. But the passage undeniably shows that at that time a distinction was most fully recognized, between the Pope *holding* heresy on the one hand, and *teaching* it as Pope on the other hand.

It is not however only, or chiefly, Mr. Renouf's *tone*, but the

whole arrangement of his argument, which implies a most unfair disparagement of his opponents. You would never suppose, to read his pamphlet, that Ultramontane champions have accumulated in their support a vast mass of evidence, from Scripture, from Tradition, from Pontifical and Ecclesiastical decisions. This evidence, in our humble opinion, amounts to nothing less than an irrefragable demonstration ; but Mr. Renouf himself will admit, that at all events it possesses considerable force and persuasiveness. Yet he makes no attempt to estimate its value ; to indicate the particular points on which he may think that its cogency has been over-rated ; to adduce opposite considerations, tending (as he may think) to lessen its conclusiveness : he writes throughout as though no such evidence had been adduced at all. It will often be the case that, where some conclusion has been demonstratively established, its advocates are greatly wanting in patience or in candour, when they come to deal with some teasing objection ; they are very confident that it admits of being triumphantly answered, and hardly trouble themselves what particular answer they shall give. This is of course indefensible, and good service might have been done in drawing attention to such controversial feebleness. But Mr. Reuouf's monstrous injustice is, that he speaks throughout as though Baronius or Bellarmine had exhibited such weakness, not in behalf of some conclusion which had already (as they thought, and as we think) been demonstratively established, but merely in favour of some unfounded prejudice of their own.

We insist on this consideration. Take any verity you please, however certain and however fundamental : its advocates may easily be represented in a contemptible light, if you ignore all their positive arguments, and deal only with the answer they may give to some plausible objection. How telling a pamphlet might be written on Mr. Renouf's plan by an Atheist ! " You allege that the Creator is infinitely powerful and infinitely merciful ; explain then that undeniable fact, the existence of evil. If the Creator be infinitely *merciful* He has the *will*, and if infinitely powerful He has the *power*, to prevent all evil. In face of this plain fact, 'it is impossible to speak without contempt' (Renouf, p. 32) of the allegation that there is a God. ' Most painful have been the attempts ' made by Theists ' to get rid of so disagreeable a fact ' (Renouf, p. 7) as the existence of evil in the creation of an Infinitely Merciful and Powerful God. ' Bad arguments are common on both sides in all controversies ; but those used by ' many Theists to escape this difficulty 'cannot have been sincerely believed in by their authors.' Theism is 'demonstrably untenable' (p. 40), &c. &c. &c." The gross unfairness of such a method, as every one sees, consists in the writer ignoring that vast mass of *positive* evidence, which his opponents had adduced for their thesis. In this world of partial

knowledge, very few are the conclusions, however irrefragably established, against which plausible—nay, accidentally unanswerable—objections may not be adduced. “There are unanswerable objections,” says Dr. Whately, “against the theory of a plenum, and unanswerable objections against the theory of a vacuum; but one or other of these theories *must* be true.”

And so as to Ultramontane doctrine. Whether in arguing against Dr. Pusey or otherwise, we have never denied that objections against it may possibly be brought, to which the present imperfect state of knowledge and criticism permits no perfectly satisfactory answer. But we must go on to say in the case of Mr. Renouf, as we said in that of Dr. Pusey, that if there *are* such objections, he has totally failed in discovering them. Indeed as to far the larger portion of his matter, we do not understand how he can himself think that it possesses any relevance against Ultramontane doctrine; unless indeed he is either unusually puzzle-headed, or else entirely unaware what Ultramontane doctrine *is*.

We must further add, that he has protected himself against retaliation, by carefully suppressing all explanation of *his own* theory. We heartily wish we could consider him a Gallican of the Bossuet and Tourneley stamp. As things are in England, such Gallicanism as this is very far less noxious, than that doctrinal poison with which certain Catholics are labouring to imbue the faithful. But Mr. Renouf gives various indications of holding a theory fundamentally different from the Gallican. He considers it (p. 32, note) “the old view, that both Popes and Councils may err, and that *the Church alone* is infallible;” meaning apparently, by “the Church,” the whole body of the faithful. In harmony with this, he mentions, without any expression whatever of dissent, Waldensis’s opinion, that “even an Ecumenical Council confirmed by the Pope requires *the consent of the Universal Church*, before its decrees can be considered irreformable” (p. 37). The Acts of the Sixth Council, he elsewhere says (p. 10), “throw Pighius into a world utterly inconsistent with the *Ultramontane theory*. The Emperor presides, and *has his way in all things* when present; when he is absent, his representatives take his place, and *bishops are very small persons indeed*.” Mr. Renouf thinks that, in pronouncing a solemn dogmatical definition, emperors ought to play the principal part, and bishops to be “very small persons indeed;” nay, and that any other view of things appertains to that “Ultramontane theory” which he so energetically denounces.

It is characteristic of the consistent unfairness which pervades this whole pamphlet, that the author will not give any definite expression of his own view, but confines himself to these vague hints. If he really holds that Pope and bishops, pronouncing in harmony, can possibly claim the absolute and unreserved assent of Catholics

to erroneous doctrine, he is in a most serious position. We believe that no theologian could be found, who would not denounce such a tenet as simply *heretical*.

The pamphlet however is occupied, not with *defending* any tenet whatever; but with *assailing* the Ultramontane doctrine, that a Pope is infallible whenever he speaks as Universal Teacher. Mr. Renouf's objections to this doctrine are exclusively historical and exclusively negative. "Honorius, S. Liberius, S. Agatho, S. Leo II., Pope Adrian II., certain mediæval theologians, did or said certain things, which cannot be harmonized with the Ultramontane theory." In reply of course we have to show, not that these various facts and sayings *prove* the Ultramontane theory, but that they are *consistent* with it. None of them, we are to maintain, either disprove, or even render less probable, the Ultramontane allegation, that Christ taught the doctrine of Pontifical infallibility. In other words, we are to *assume* through our whole reasoning the Ultramontane theory; and we are to argue that, granting that theory, Mr. Renouf's facts admit a thoroughly satisfactory explanation. We will begin with the case of Honorius, which gives its name to the pamphlet, and on which the author lays his principal—almost his exclusive—stress. We will maintain successively these three propositions.

I. It is most certain that Honorius was never condemned for teaching heresy *ex cathedrâ*.

II. It is most certain that his Letters to Sergius were not written *ex cathedrâ*.

III. It is most certain that Honorius was never infallibly condemned for heresy. "To Honorius the heretic anathema" has never been pronounced by any infallible voice, either directly or equivalently.

It must be carefully observed however, that it is only the two first of these propositions, and not the third, with which Ultramontanes as such are concerned. Ultramontanes allege that the Pope is infallible whenever he speaks *ex cathedrâ*; or, in other words, whenever he imposes on all Catholics an obligation of accepting, with absolute and unreserved assent, the doctrine which he proposes. Mr. Renouf therefore will have proved his point, if he shows (1) that Honorius taught heresy or error *ex cathedrâ*; or else (2) if he shows that S. Agatho, or S. Leo II., or any other Pope declared *ex cathedrâ* that Honorius *had* so taught. But if Mr. Renouf does not prove either of these propositions, then he does not prove his point; and if he does not even establish any kind of *probability* for either of these propositions, then (as regards his purpose) his treatment of Honorius's case is absolutely worthless. Let it be even supposed for argument's sake—which we are as far as possible from admitting—that Honorius really fell

into heresy, but without teaching it to the Universal Church ; and that some Pope declared this fact *ex cathedrâ*. Such a circumstance would prove conclusively that a Pope may fall into heresy ; but it would not even *tend* to show that he can *teach* heresy *ex cathedrâ*. Nay, let us make a still more extreme supposition. Let us suppose the Eastern bishops really intended to decide synodically, that Honorius had taught heresy or error *ex cathedrâ*. Even such a circumstance as this would give an Ultramontane no difficulty whatever, unless it were further proved that some Pontiff *confirmed* this synodical decree in this particular sense. So far therefore as regards the Sixth Council, there are two questions only which it is necessary for an Ultramontane to consider : viz. (1) did S. Agatho, or (2) did S. Leo II. sanction some synodical decree, to the effect that Honorius had taught *ex cathedrâ* some heresy or error ?

Now firstly there cannot be a more gratuitous supposition than this : you might as well say that S. Celestine or S. Leo I., or any other Pontiff you like to name, had been condemned as teaching error *ex cathedrâ*. There is not the faintest allusion in the Acts of the Council to any such idea, as that Honorius's error (if error there were) had been taught by him *ex cathedrâ*. Mr. Renouf himself only alleges one single proof to the contrary, viz. (p. 23) the Council's use of the word “*κυρώσαντα*” ; and we shall see in due time how utterly worthless is the argument which he founds on this word. Otherwise the very strongest view which could possibly be taken, as to the Council's unfavourable judgment of Honorius, would only be, that it declared him a heretic in the very same sense in which it so declared Sergius, Cyrus, and the rest. But in regard to these, the Council most assuredly did not intend to pronounce that they had enforced heresy in the capacity of *Universal Teachers* ; because no one supposed them to *possess* any such capacity. Neither therefore did the Council intend to pronounce, that *Honorius* had enforced heresy in his capacity of *Universal Teacher*.

Nay, as theologians are in the habit of pointing out, there is one particular in the Acts, which points to a marked distinction from the rest in Honorius's favour. In the 13th Session the bishops thus speak : “ Having read the *dogmatic* letters written by Sergius . . . likewise the *Letter* written back by Honorius, &c. &c.”* Plainly it cannot be accidental, that in the same sentence the epithet “*dogmatic*” is given to Sergius's letter and withheld from Honorius's. Moreover, Orsi points out (l. i. c. 22, n. 2) how carefully

* Mr. Renouf (p. 3) in his translation altogether obscures this very significant contrast ; and in p. 19 he says most gratuitously that if Sergius's letter be a “*dogmatic*” letter, the reply of Honorius is equally such.

the bishops always avoid the phrase "dogmatic letter," as applied individually to Honorius's. What then did the bishops intend to express by this pointed distinction? The more obvious interpretation of course is, that they understood the real facts of the case; that they regarded Honorius's letter as disciplinary or hortatory, and not dogmatic. But if Mr. Renouf will not accept this account of the matter, there is but one other which we can imagine. A Pope's *dogmatic* Letter might be understood to mean an *ex cathedrâ* Letter; and the bishops' reason for avoiding the term may possibly have been, to obviate all chance of such misconception. On either hypothesis it equally follows, that they never thought of condemning Honorius as having taught heresy *ex cathedrâ*.

As we just now said, however, the only question which Ultramontanes have to consider, is not what the *bishops* intended, but what the *Popes* intended. We will next therefore consult S. Agatho. Mr. Renouf considers (p. 17) that S. Agatho's legates had been instructed by the Pontiff, before they left Rome, to sanction Honorius's condemnation for having taught heresy *ex cathedrâ*. And this supposition indeed is absolutely required by his theory, unless he surrenders S. Agatho altogether; since that Pontiff did not live to receive the Acts of the Council. Now, as Catholic controversialists have repeatedly pointed out, S. Agatho's Letter to the Council contains the following words: "The Lord and Saviour of all, Whose gift is faith, Who *promised that the faith of Peter should not fail*, admonished him to confirm his brethren [in the Faith]; and *it is known to all* that the Apostolic Pontiffs my predecessors *have always done this energetically*." According to Mr. Renouf, S. Agatho wrote this at a time when he had authorized his legates to declare, that one of those predecessors had taught heresy *ex cathedrâ*; or, in other words, had commanded all Catholics to contradict the Faith. Those who believe this will believe anything.

Now for S. Leo II. In what terms did he confirm the Acts of the Council, so far as regards his predecessor's condemnation? "We anathematize also Honorius, who did not labour to preserve in its purity (*ἀγνίσται*) this Catholic Church by the teaching of Apostolic tradition, but permitted the immaculate to be polluted* through his profane betrayal." This is the Pontiff's authentic declaration of the reason for which he anathematized Honorius; and it is directly inconsistent with the supposition, that he anathematized him for having taught heresy *ex cathedrâ*. Had Honorius taught heresy *ex cathedrâ*, it would have been simply monstrous to say that he *permitted* the Church to be polluted by his *betrayal*; or (as S. Leo expressed his thought to the Spanish bishops) that Honorius

* We take that reading of this last clause which Mr. Renouf gives himself in p. 5, and which we understand him to admit as genuine in p. 13, note.

fostered the heresy by his *neglect*. On such a supposition, Honorius would not have *suffered* the Church to be polluted; rather he would have himself *involved* her in pollution, by his own most deadly *agency*. On such a supposition, he would not have fostered the heresy by his *neglect*, but by his detestable *activity*. Mr. Renouf accounts Honorius no less simply heretical than Arius. Put the impossible case that Arius had been Pope, and had taught his heresy ex cathedrâ. What orthodox person on earth would dream of saying, that Arius *permitted* the Church to be polluted by his *profane betrayal*? that he fostered the denial of our Lord's Divinity by his *neglect*? Any one who could thus speak must already be half an Arian himself. What *was* S. Leo's precise ground for anathematizing Honorius, we will consider in the course of our argument for the *third* proposition above stated.

Mr. Renouf proceeds (pp. 6, 7) to the decrees of the Seventh and Eighth Councils; but neither of these decrees has the most superficial appearance of declaring that Honorius taught heresy ex cathedrâ. We may add—if it is worth while to add *anything* on so plain a matter—that the Fathers of the Eighth Council subscribed a profession of faith sent them by Pope Adrian II.; and that this profession contained the following words:—“In the Apostolic See the Catholic religion *has ever been preserved immaculate*, and holy doctrine preached.”*

We have now therefore made one step good. It is absolutely certain—no fact is more certain in all history—that no Pope ever condemned Honorius as having taught heresy or error ex cathedrâ. But Mr. Renouf argues (pp. 19-24) that—putting aside altogether subsequent Pontifical declarations—Honorius's Letters to Sergius are shown to have been ex cathedrâ by intrinsic evidence and by contemporary circumstances. In this part of his argument, Mr. Renouf shows himself entirely ignorant of what Ultramontanes *mean*, when they speak of some teaching as ex cathedrâ. A Pontiff teaches ex cathedrâ always, and only, when he exhibits his intention of imposing on all Catholics an obligation of absolute assent. What did Honorius then intend by his Letters to Sergius? If he intended to impose on all Catholics an obligation of believing, that in Christ there is but one operation and one will;—then he taught heresy ex cathedrâ. If he intended to impose on all Catholics an obligation of holding, that the phrase “two operations” is unsuitable for the expression of Catholic dogma;—then he taught *error* ex cathedrâ. But Mr. Renouf himself admits that he did neither of these things. He quotes

* This is pointed out by Muzzarelli, “de Auctoritate Romani Pontificis,” 11, s. 2.

(p. 19, note) with perfect agreement Luzerne's opinion, that the decree was purely "permissive," and commanded nothing at all. Then it could not possibly have been *ex cathedrâ*. And we are very confident, in truth, that this will be the verdict of any ordinarily candid person—Catholic or non-Catholic—who will take the trouble of carefully reading the two Letters. Of course we do not dream of alleging that Honorius wrote them in a non-official capacity, which Mr. Renouf most strangely assumes to be the only alternative. We maintain that he wrote them in the discharge of his Pontifical office "*regendi et gubernandi Ecclesiam*."

However this particular inquiry—on the alleged *ex cathedrâ* character of Honorius's Letters—is so entirely fundamental, that we must argue it in greater detail. Mr. Renouf has exhibited himself throughout as a strangely inaccurate reasoner; but in no part of his pamphlet is his inaccuracy more conspicuous than in this.

He begins by the oddest imaginable exposition of the point at issue. "The next question is," he says (p. 19), "whether Honorius fell into heresy as private doctor, or as Pope." You might as well ask whether he ate, drank, and slept as private eater, drinker, and sleeper, or as Pope. Such language recalls to our mind the Count-Bishop, mentioned in a former number of this REVIEW; who told his flock that he had contracted marriage, but that he had done so exclusively in his capacity of Count.* For ourselves, of course, we totally deny that Honorius fell into heresy at all; but this is by the way. The question raised by Ultramontanes, is not that very singular psychological puzzle propounded by Mr. Renouf, but something altogether different. They maintain most confidently, that even if Honorius fell into heresy, he did not *teach* that heresy *ex cathedrâ*; he did not impose on all Catholics a *command* of accepting it. What he thought, or even what he publicly expressed, is one thing; what he *commanded* others to *believe* is a totally different thing.

Mr. Renouf's second sentence is as strange as his first. "If he imposed silence upon contending patriarchs, how could he have done so otherwise than in the full exercise of his Pontifical authority?" One is ashamed of having to point out the obvious truth, that to command *silence* is not to command *interior assent*. Mr. Renouf himself implies that Honorius merely intended to "impose silence on contending patriarchs." Mr. Renouf then himself implies that the Pontiff did not intend to teach *ex cathedrâ*.

Our author proceeds to point out that the Pope's "private

* Of course the question is most intelligible whether some Pontiff *taught* some doctrine as private doctor or as Pope. If Mr. Renouf meant this, he should have said it.

opinion was not asked for." Who in the world ever thought it was? Who ever said that his Letter was a "private missive"? (p. 20). Doubtless it was "an official document of the gravest character," as our author truly observes. We must really ask our readers to forgive us if, for Mr. Renouf's benefit, we are obliged to express certain very elementary doctrines *de Summo Pontifice*.

To every Pope appertains the office, on the one hand, of "teaching" the Church (*pascendi*), on the other hand of "ruling and piloting her" (*regendi et gubernandi*). It is admitted by all Catholics without exception, that a Pope may make serious mistakes in exercising this latter office; though they well know that, on the whole, he obtains most special assistance of the Holy Ghost in its execution. But Ultramontanes attribute infallibility to him in the *former* office; they say that every doctrine is infallibly true, which he proposes to the Universal Church under an obligation of absolute interior assent. Here, therefore, are the two alternatives which we are to consider. It is easily imaginable that Honorius might have spoken *ex cathedrâ*; that he might have taken occasion, when he received Sergius's letter, to impose on all Catholics an obligation of believing either (1) that in Christ there is but one operation, or else (2) that the phrase "two operations" is an inappropriate expression of orthodox dogma. If either of these allegations could be substantiated, Ultramontanism would be refuted; but we must maintain that no supposition can be more extravagant. Our direct and absolutely irrefragable proof of this, are the contents themselves of Honorius's Letters. But before speaking of this proof, we will mention one or two other arguments: arguments on which theologians have justly laid great stress, as showing very conclusively that Honorius's Letters did not contain any teaching *ex cathedrâ*.

We will not quite say, with Mr. Renouf, that to rest on the fact of Honorius's Letters containing no anathemas, is a "miserable evasion of the difficulty"; because we do not like such overbearing language: but we quite agree with him, that such a fact is no disproof whatever of their *ex cathedrâ* character. Why, no Act in the Church's history was ever more indubitably *ex cathedrâ* than S. Leo's Letter to S. Flavian, and in that Letter there were no anathemas whatever. We may further add—as our whole controversy with F. Ryder will have shown—that we are the very last who would "limit the exercise of" Pontifical "infallibility by purely arbitrary conditions" (p. 24). The Pope is infallible, whenever he may think it well to teach any doctrine whatever as obligatory on the acceptance of Catholics; and God has left him perfectly free to make that obligation *known*, in any shape he accounts desirable. But the expressing some doctrine in some letter to an individual bishop, is in itself quite a different thing—as is most evident—from de-

claring that doctrine *obligatory on all Catholics*. In order therefore that the Pope may be understood as teaching ex cathedrâ, something more required than his merely *expressing* it in some letter to an individual ; something is required, which shall indicate an intention of obliging the whole Catholic world to interior assent.

1. One test on which theologians lay great stress, is that of *publication*. By the fact of circulating a Dogmatic Letter throughout the Church, a Pontiff expresses that it is intended, not for those only to whom it is addressed, but for all Catholics. (See DUBLIN REVIEW for January last, pp. 103-5.) What can be more reasonable than this ? Why should Mr. Renouf call it (p. 24) an "absurd condition" ? In Honorius's day, it was the universal habit of Popes so to act, when they issued Dogmatic Letters ex cathedrâ. Orsi insists on this, quoting an earlier writer in his support. Such letters "were transmitted to the primates or patriarchs of provinces ; unless indeed there was some special reason for sending them to others. Then the primates, or these others, communicated copies of them to the bishops, either separately or synodically ; and often both subscribed the Letters themselves, and required their suffragans so to do" (l. i. c. 22, s. 5). Mr. Renouf objects, that S. Leo's Letter to S. Flavian contains no orders about its publication, and yet that it was certainly ex cathedrâ. But the question is not whether the Letter *contains* such an order, but whether the Pontiff *gave* that order. The marks of an ex cathedrâ Act—as we have energetically maintained against F. Ryder—may be extrinsic as well as intrinsic. Now Baronius expressly declares—we quoted the passage last January, p. 117—that S. Leo's Letter was made by him encyclical, in order that it might be known throughout the Church. And S. Leo indeed told his legates, before the Council of Chalcedon, that "the universal Church embraces" his Letter. (See Dr. Ward's "Brief Summary," p. 20.)

Now it is most certain that Honorius never thus circulated his Letter to Sergius ; and stress is laid on this fact by Roncaglia and by Muzzarelli. (See Dr. Ward's "Second Letter," p. 54, note ; and "Brief Summary," p. 23.) It will be useful to append Muzzarelli's passage at length.

Tantum abest, quin solemnis Epistola vocari possit, ut in Occidente, ubi confecta fuerat, per plures annos incognita extiterit. Omnia igitur indicia privatæ epistolæ in eâ apparent. Scripta est nomine et jussu Honorii per ejus familiarem amanuensem, sive notarium, adè secretè, ut unicè ab hoc amanuensi Joannes, Honorii successor, rescire potuerit ejus intentionem, et Epistole interpretationem. In Occidente, ut diximus, latuit per magnum intervallum, et tunc solum innotuit, quum Pyrrhus, qui Sergio successerat, ad proprium sensum attrahere festinavit, quæ Honorius scripserat : sicuti Summus Pontifex, Joannes quartus, testatur in apologiâ ad Constantimum

pro Honorio Papâ. Concil. tom. 5, pag. 1759. Neque ideo dici potest, quod tunc originalis epistola Honorii fuerit in Occidente evulgata; sed unicè testimonium factum fuit manifestum, quod de ipsâ reddiderat Pyrrhus in suis litteris, huc illuc transmissis. Et quidem de eâ nulla invenitur commemoratio aut accusatio in synodis Romanis subsequentibus, in quibus damnati sunt Monothelite, et Sergius, et Pyrrhus, et Paulus Constantopolitanus. In Oriente verò documentum non extat, quod Honorii epistola ne quidem à Sergio ad ecclesias missa fuerit. In ipsâ Sextæ Synodi actione 12. Epistola Honorii non aliudè, quam ex scrinio Patriarchali ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae deprompta fuit, autographa ipsa Latina cum Græcâ interpretatione. Ad unum ergo Sergium missa, ab eoque recondita fuerat in archivio ecclesiæ; et ex eâ probabiliter aliqua solum verba excerpserat Pyrrhus, quibus dolosè auctoritatem Honorii in suæ heresis præsidium advocaret. Certè in synodo Lateranensi sub Martino primo, in quâ Stephanus, Dorensis Episcopus, ex parte etiam Hierosolimitane Sedis, libellum obtulit adversus errores Sergii; et ejus successorum Pyrrhi et Pauli, nullam de Honorii notitiam manifestavit; quam tamen recensere necessarium fuisse pro hac causâ. Idem silentium observatur in libello monachorum Græcorum, qui pro eodem negotio lectus fuit, et qui orthodoxorum Orientalium querelam de Honorii Epistolâ deferre ad synodum in hac circumstantiâ debuissent. Quin etiam in Typo Constanti, cuius Paulus Monothelite auctor fuerat et in quo prohibebatur omnis contentio de unâ voluntate et unâ operatione aut duabus voluntatibus et operationibus, nullum testimonium profertur ex Epistola Honorii; quod tamen Paulus Constanti sugerere debuisse, ut Typum apud Occidentales defenderet, et contra Martini condemnationem sibi ipsi consuleret.

Orsi again,—having pointed out (as we just now mentioned) that in those days, according to universal habit, a Pope's *ex cathedrâ* Letter was circulated every where, was formally accepted and was often subscribed by the Episcopate,—proceeds to dwell on the fact, that nothing of the kind took place with Honorius's Letter to Sergius. Sergius and his successors, he says, instead of proposing *Honorius's Letter* for subscription, proposed Heraclius's Ethesis or Constans's Type.

2. There is a second argument, much used by Ultramontanes, which we cannot better express than in Muzzarelli's words, slightly abridged. It was the constant habit of Pontiffs, he says, never to speak *ex cathedrâ*, without first assembling a synod either of bishops or of Roman presbyters; more commonly the former. So Innocent and Zosimus acted in the case of Pelagius and Celestius; Celestine against Nestorius; Leo against Eutyches; &c. &c. In like manner as to this very Monothelite controversy: John IV., Theodore, Martin, and Agatho, all assembled synods before putting forth their *ex cathedrâ* definitions. But Honorius's Letter to Sergius was not preceded by any such consultation; and this fact alone sufficiently shows that he never intended it to be *ex cathedrâ*.

Orsi illustrates this same argument from the "Liber Diurnus,"

to which Mr. Renouf makes such frequent reference. In the professions of faith which that book contains, the Pontiffs promise that they will accept and preach whatever their predecessors have *synodically* accepted and preached; and that they anathematize whatever their predecessors have *synodically* anathematized. They use the word "synodically" as synonymous with "ex cathedrâ." Moreover in one of those professions, part of which is quoted by Mr. Renouf in p. 6, they condemn "Sergius, Pyrrhus. . . . Honorius, &c. &c., and all those who pertinaciously defended heretical doctrine against the *synodically declared* truth of Faith."

Orsi and Mazzarelli do not, of course, mean that a Pope has no power to pronounce ex cathedrâ without consulting a synod. Their argument is this. At that time it was the universal habit of Popes to consult some synod, before they spoke as Universal Teachers; and a Pope's omission therefore of such consultation in some given case, is a strong argument that in that case he did not intend to speak as Universal Teacher. Now, it is certain from history that Honorius did *not* consult a synod before writing to Sergius; therefore, &c. And we may here suggest a confirmation of that fact on which this second argument is based. Honorius's Letter* contains manifest signs of haste and of most imperfect apprehension; it does not seem the *kind* of letter which would have been written after mature deliberation and consultation with others. Thus, as has been remarked again and again, he lays emphatic stress on the verity, that our Blessed Lord had but one *human* will, and was entirely free from that rebellion of the flesh to which fallen man is subject: a verity, most vital indeed, but absolutely irrelevant to Sergius's inquiry. To enlarge however on this consideration, would carry us into a totally different line of thought from that on which we are now engaged.

3. But at last by far the most overwhelming evidence is derivable from Honorius's own language; whether in his first Letter, or in those fragments of his second which were synodically read at Constantinople. Mr. Renouf compares his language with that of S. Leo to S. Flavian; but no contrast can well be greater. It was S. Leo's direct drift to lay down, that a certain exposition, which he elaborately draws out, is a true analysis of revealed dogma, and is absolutely obligatory on the interior acceptance of all Catholics. Honorius says nothing which approaches this ever so distantly. We may indeed with most perfect confidence leave the matter to all ordinarily candid readers—Catholics or otherwise—who will but bear in mind the true question. They are to ask themselves this, and this only. Did Honorius state or imply either of the two following propositions?—Prop. I. "All Catholics are under an obligation of

* Only one of his two Letters is extant in its integrity.

believing, that in Christ there is but one operation and one will.” Prop. II. “All Catholics are under an obligation of believing that the phrase ‘two operations’ is an inappropriate expression of orthodox dogma.” If his words imply either of these two propositions, then he taught heresy or error ex cathedrâ. If his words imply nothing of the kind, then he was not teaching ex cathedrâ at all.

Mr. Renouf lays his greatest stress on the fragments of Honorius’s second Letter; from which (p. 22) he gives a long extract. We can desire nothing better, than to stake the whole issue on the very extract which Mr. Renouf gives; if he will only permit us to insert the two remaining lines, which he has unaccountably omitted. The last sentence then in its integrity runs thus: “As for those whom our aforesaid brother and fellow-bishop [Sophronius] sent, we instructed them that in future he should not continue to preach the formula of ‘two operations’; and they entirely promised that he would so act, if only our brother and fellow-bishop Cyrus would abandon the formula of ‘one operation.’” Did Honorius then require from S. Sophronius absolute interior assent to the proposition, that “the phrase ‘two operations’ is inappropriate”? On the contrary he did not even *ask* him to express any such *opinion*. All which Honorius desired to obtain was external conformity. He was perfectly satisfied with Sophronius’s promise, that *he* would not talk about *two* operations, if Cyrus would not talk about *one*. The Pontifical intention was exclusively disciplinary and hortatory, not doctrinal in the slightest degree. He commanded the various Patriarchs to abstain from a phrase, not to believe a doctrine.

Remarks entirely similar may be made on the first Letter, which remains entire, and on which Mr. Renouf lays less prominent stress. The last sentence of this Letter, as all its readers will have observed, is a most faithful representative of its general drift. Does it lay down that all Catholics are *obliged* to embrace the *tenet*, that “two operations” is an inappropriate phrase? It says nothing which the most uncandid reader can torture into any such signification. “We *exhort* you,” says Honorius, “that you would avoid the newly introduced expression of ‘one or two operations’; and preach, in unison with us, One Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, True God, Who worketh in two natures the [respective] works of Divinity and Humanity.” He does not dream of requiring them to *believe* that the phrase is *inappropriate*: he does but exhort them to avoid its use. To say “we *require* Catholics to *believe* that the phrase is a bad phrase,” would be to

* Mr. Renouf ends his quotation in the middle of a sentence. Was he unconsciously conscious that the two last lines would have overthrown his theory?

teach *ex cathedrâ*; to say “we *exhort* you not to *use* it” is not to teach at all. To exhort is one thing, to teach is another. Nay, even had the exhortation been a command, the ineffaceable distinction would still have remained. “We command you not to *use* the phrase”—is an act of discipline; “we command you and all Catholics to *believe* that the phrase is a bad one”—this and this only would be an instruction *ex cathedrâ*. Take successively every individual sentence of Honorius throughout the two Letters: you will not find one, which either directly or by implication approaches ever so distantly to the utterance of such a command.

Nay, as we have already pointed out, this fact is so very obvious, that Mr. Renouf cannot shut his eyes to it. Honorius “imposed silence on contending patriarchs” (p. 19). “The decree was permissive,” and “had no command to give” (*ib.*, note). To impose silence—to permit without commanding—cannot possibly be to teach *ex cathedrâ*.

We have now fully established every proposition in the case of Honorius, for which Ultramontanes, as such, are bound to contend. We have shown (1) that he was not condemned for teaching heresy or error *ex cathedrâ*; and (2) that, as a matter of fact, he did not teach *ex cathedrâ at all* on the Monothelite controversy. For ourselves however, we are very confident that his Letters neither express nor imply any heretical tenet whatever; and of course therefore, that they have never been infallibly *condemned* as containing any such tenet. And as it is far from an unimportant truth that no Pope has hitherto fallen into heresy, we will pursue Mr. Renouf’s argument further. That gentleman, for instance, lays great stress (pp. 2–4) on the 13th and 16th sessions of the Sixth Council, and on its final acclamations: we shall show that no part of these received Pontifical confirmation. “The Council pronounced” a certain “judgment” on Honorius (p. 3): the *bishops* did so; but so did *not* the Pope. “To Honorius the heretic anathema” acclaimed the bishops; and Mr. Renouf lays so much stress on the acclamation, that he has printed it on his title-page and on his cover. But no *Pope* ever sanctioned any application of the term “heretic” to Honorius in any sense whatever.

It will be convenient however, before we consider what is the precise condemnation which *Popes* have passed on Honorius, to examine very briefly a far more doubtful and far less important question. Did the bishops assembled at Constantinople intend to condemn Honorius, in the same sense in which they condemned Sergius, Cyrus, and the rest? Did they intend to condemn him as having expressed heretical tenets? Or on the other hand, did they mean to decree no severer censure against him, than that which (as we shall presently see) subsequent Pontiffs have them-

selves sanctioned? There is something to be said on both sides of this question; to us it seems more probable, that they did intend to condemn him precisely as a heretic.

Mr. Renouf lays emphatic stress (p. 23) on the word “κυρώσαντα.” To take Mr. Renouf’s reasonable paraphrase, the Council condemned Honorius as having “officially confirmed, ratified, and stamped with authority” “the impious dogmata of Sergius.” Mr. Renouf indeed would interpret this as signifying that the bishops condemned Honorius, not merely as a *heretic*, but as having taught heresy *ex cathedrâ*. For such a conclusion as this however, the phrase really supplies no ground at all; not even the very slightest. Let us suppose that they considered him to have been personally heretical; and to have imposed silence on Sophronius concerning “the two operations,” for the very purpose of promoting his own Monothelite tenets. This certainly would be a most fully sufficient explanation of their saying, that he had given official confirmation to the impious dogmata of Sergius.

We think however that the use of so strong a word as “κυρώσαντα” does give a certain probability to the supposition, that they accounted Honorius as personally a Monothelite.

A still stronger probability accrues to the same conclusion, from the testimony of Pope Adrian II. Here again we must complain of Mr. Renouf (p. 6), for having omitted words of some importance. “Although,” says Adrian II., “anathema was said to Honorius after his death by the *Easterns*, it should be understood nevertheless that he was accused on the ground of heresy (*super hæresi*).” There is nothing whatever in Adrian’s words to imply that Honorius had been anathematized by any *Pope* on the ground of heresy, but only by the *Easterns*.* For this last conclusion however, his testimony has much weight.

Then the Eastern language at the Council was undoubtedly very severe. Honorius’s Letter is classed with the letters of Sergius and Cyrus (Renouf, p. 3) as “altogether alien from Apostolic teachings,” “following the false teachings of the heretics,” “to be loathed as soul-destroying.” Honorius, they say, “followed the mind of Sergius in *all things*, and stamped with authority his impious dogmata.” “To Honorius the *heretic anathema!*” On the other hand, Catholics have again and again pointed out that the word “heretic” is often used vaguely to include the *promoters* of heresy; and there are one or two circumstances which give some ground for conjecturing that the word may have been so used in

* These are his words: “Romanum Pontificem de omnium ecclesiastarum presulibus judicasse legimus; de eo vero quenquam judicasse non legimus. Licit enim Honorio ab Orientalibus post mortem anathema sit dictum, sciendum tamen est quod fuerat super hæresi accusatus; propter quam solum licitum est minoribus majorum suorum” &c. &c.

Honorius's case. Such is the tendency of a fact to which we have already referred (p. 206); viz., that the bishops pointedly avoid the epithet "dogmatic" when speaking of Honorius's "Letter." Moreover the Emperor, than whom no fairer representative can be taken of the Eastern Episcopal mind, speaks a good deal more guardedly than the bishops; and in fact draws that very distinction between Honorius and the rest, on which S. Leo (as we shall see) insisted in confirming the Council. "We anathematize," says the Emperor, "the *authors and favourers*" of heresy; thus drawing a distinction between the two classes. Then having named Theodore and Sergius, he mentions "Honorius also, who was in all things the favourer, companion, and confirmor of *these men* in heresy." Perhaps at last the true account may be, that some bishops held one opinion and some the other; and that no attempt was made to pronounce accurately on the precise kind or degree of Honorius's complicity with the heresy.

"It is sheer dishonesty," says Mr. Renouf (p. 12) with his usual deference and charitableness, "to shut one's eyes to the strongest words of the Council, as if their force were destroyed by weaker expressions in . . . the Letters of Pope Leo." Why, in the judgment of Ultramontanes—and for that matter of Gallicans also—no words of the Council possess infallibility at all, except so far as the Pope confirms them. We have literally nothing to do with the sense in which the Council expressed them, but only with the sense in which the Pope confirmed them. "It is sheer dishonesty," forsooth, that an avowed Ultramontane shall act consistently on his own principles. We cannot repeat it too often. In considering the Sixth Council, an Ultramontane is concerned with two questions, and with two questions alone; viz., (1) what declarations of the Council received Pontifical sanction, and (2) in what sense they received it. Now there were but two Pontiffs in relation with this Council; viz., S. Agatho and S. Leo: and we are to consider therefore these two questions, in reference to these two Pontiffs.

We affirm, firstly, that S. Agatho never sanctioned or approved any declaration whatever of the Sixth Council; for he did not live to receive his legates on their return. Mr. Renouf indeed alleges (p. 17), that they had received secret instructions from him to join in the condemnation of Honorius as a heretic; but he cannot adduce one particle of evidence for such an assertion. He states, indeed (p. 17)—but without venturing himself to endorse the validity of such an argument—that this conclusion has been accounted deducible from the bishops' address to S. Agatho. "We have slain," they say, the heretics with anathema, "according to the sentence previously issued against them by your sacred Letter"; and they proceed to name Honorius among those whom they have thus anathematized. Now if S. Agatho's Letter were not extant,

a certain probability—though certainly not a strong one—might accrue from these words to Mr. Renouf's conclusion. Certainly not a strong one; for nothing is more probable, than that S. Agatho might generally have enjoined the anathematization of Monothelite heretics, without enumerating any particular names. At all events his Letters *are extant*; both that addressed to the Emperor, and that addressed to the Council: and in neither is Honorius's name to be found. Mr. Renouf of course well knows this fact; and we must say that no Ultramontane argument, among those which he so severely denounces, presents on its surface such an appearance of conscious insincerity, as does this Gallican special pleading which he has adduced without any expression of dissent.

But this is by no means all. Not only S. Agatho did *not* refer to Honorius as to a *heretic*; he *did* expressly refer to that Letter of his which the Council afterwards condemned, as to the Letter of a perfectly orthodox man. We allude to the following often-quoted passage from his Letter to the Emperor. "My predecessors," says S. Agatho, "*thoroughly instructed* (*κατηρισμένοι*) *as they were in the Lord's doctrine*, from the time when the *Constantinopolitan patriarchs* endeavoured to introduce this heretical novelty into Christ's spotless Church, have never neglected to exhort and entreatingly press them, that they would desist from this heretical pravity, *were it only by keeping silence*." Now no other Pope, except Honorius, was contented with exhorting the heretical patriarchs to *silence*; nor has any one therefore ever doubted, that the concluding words above quoted refer to that Pontiff. We do not of course suppose that such a passage is *ex cathedra*. But it expresses S. Agatho's own personal opinion, that Honorius was a predecessor "*thoroughly instructed in the Lord's doctrine*," and not insensible to the deadly evil of Monothelism. Surely when Mr. Renouf bears in mind this passage,—which for the moment must have escaped his memory,—he will no longer have the courage to maintain, that the very legates who bore the Letter had received secret instructions to condemn, as guilty of heresy, the Pontiff thus honourably mentioned.

At the same time it does appear probable, that S. Agatho instructed his legates to permit the Council to examine for itself into the doctrine of Honorius's Letter.* It certainly seems improbable that they would have acquiesced in this, had they not been previously directed to that effect; and Adrian II. long afterwards pointed out, "that no bishop would have had the right of expressing concerning" Honorius "any judgment whatever, unless the authority of the Primatial See had gone before." Mr. Renouf quotes

* We use the singular, as we are not aware of any evidence that the second Letter had been heard of at Rome.

part of this sentence as a proof that S. Agatho had sanctioned Honorius's *condemnation*; and our readers have already seen how truly monstrous is such a supposition. But Adrian's words do seem to show, that S. Agatho had permitted the Council to express its judgment on Honorius's Letter. However convinced he indubitably was of his predecessor's perfect orthodoxy, there was nothing at all inconsistent with Catholic principle in his permitting this examination; while there were various reasons of expediency, which almost necessitated his doing so. He well knew that at last no declaration, which the Council might issue, would possess irreformable authority, until it had been confirmed by himself, or by some one of his successors.

However it may be urged, as an argument against Honorius's orthodoxy, that when the examination took place its result was most unfavourable to his memory. It may be urged that the whole body of Eastern bishops—and the three Papal legates also—condemned his Letters in the severest terms. Well, at all events this is a total change of ground: it is to abandon the allegation of an *infallible* condemnation. For ourselves however, we cannot attach any importance to the judgment on such a question of the Eastern contemporary bishops; though it would carry us too far if we gave reasons for our opinion. In regard to the Papal legates, it must be remembered that S. Agatho himself, in his Letter to the Emperor, spoke disparagingly of their theological acquirements;* and that they would naturally be carried away by the influences which surrounded them. It is simply impossible that, in condemning Honorius as a heretic (if they did so), they can have been exponents of contemporary Roman opinion; for we have seen how directly contradictory is the language of S. Agatho himself.

We have shown then, that the 13th and 16th sessions, and also the acclamations, on which Mr. Renouf so greatly rests his case, at all events have not that claim to infallibility, which would have resulted from S. Agatho's approval. We now proceed to point out, that neither were they included in S. Leo's confirmation of the Council. We shall immediately be quoting his words of confirmation; and it will be seen that he entirely restricts it to the Council's *definition*. In writing to the bishops of Spain, he tells them that he sends a Latin translation of the *definition*—of the *acclamations*—of the *Emperor's edict*; and that he intends shortly to send the *Acts*. Meanwhile he enjoins that they shall at once subscribe their names—not to the acclamations or the Emperor's edict, though these had been sent—but to the *definition*.

* "We send them," he says, "for the sake of that compliance which we owe you, not from any confidence in them on the ground of their abundant knowledge."

We exhort you that by all the reverend bishops submission should be annexed to the *definition* of the venerable Council ; and that each prelate of Christ's Churches may hasten to enrol his name in a book of life, and thus *through the confession of his subscription*, unite, as though present in spirit, with ourselves and the whole Council in union of the One Evangelical and Apostolical Faith.

The same declaration is to be found in his Letter to the King of Spain, and again to Simplicius : except indeed (which is not unimportant) that in the two latter Letters he says nothing about any intention of forwarding the *Acts* of the Council.

That declaration then of the Council, which S. Leo confirmed, was precisely its *definition*. It is demonstratively shown by the preceding extracts, that this "definition" is entirely exclusive of the *Acts*, of the acclamations, and of the Emperor's edict ; and, on turning to the history of the Council, there can be no possible doubt as to what is intended by the phrase. It may be found in the history of the eighteenth session, and is called in so many words, "the definition." "Constantine, most pious Emperor said, 'Let the before-mentioned definition (*ὅρος*, *definitio*) be read ; and the reader . . . read the definition as follows.'" It is subscribed by all the Eastern bishops, with the phrase, "*ὁρίσας ὑπέγραψα*," "*definiens subscripsi*." This, and this only, is that doctrinal declaration of the Sixth Council, which received S. Leo's confirmation ; and if we would know the Council's infallible decree concerning Honorius, it is to this only that we must look. These are its words concerning him :—

The devil, having found suitable organs for his design, Theodore, Sergius, &c., and Honorius, who was Pope of the old Rome, and Cyrus, &c. &c., did not cease to raise up by their means, against the fulness of the Church, the scandals of error of one will and one operation in the two natures of One of the Holy Trinity, Christ our True God ; disseminating among our orthodox people, by their novel language, a heresy harmonizing with that of Apollinaris, &c. &c.

The definition of faith, which contains these words, was thus solemnly confirmed by S. Leo II.

The holy, universal, and great Sixth Council hath followed in all things Apostolic doctrine ; and because it hath perfectly declared that definition (*ὅρος*) of the right Faith which the Apostolic Throne of Blessed Peter humbly received, therefore we—and through our ministry this worshipful and Apostolic Throne—symbolize in heart and spirit with those things which have been defined (*ἴστιν θεῖσι*) thereby, and confirm them by the authority of Blessed Peter, as [fixed] on a firm Rock, which is Christ.

S. Leo however at once proceeds to remove all doubt as to the sense in which he confirms the anathema on Honorius. Having

anathematized by name various ancient heretics, he passes on to those just condemned by the Council :—

In like manner we anathematize the inventors of the new error : Theodore, bishop of Pharan ; Cyrus of Alexandria ; Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, Peter, over-throwers rather than rulers of the Constantinopolitan Church : nay, and Honorius also ; who did not labour to preserve in purity this Apostolic Church by the teaching of Apostolic tradition, but by profane betrayal suffered the spotless to be polluted : and likewise all who have shared in their error, &c. &c.

Every one will here see that the Holy Pontiff draws an emphatic distinction between the other anathematized persons and Honorius ; and consequently, that he does not confirm the definition of the Council, in any sense inconsistent with this broad distinction. They were active, Honorius was passive ; they were *inventors* of the new error, while he *permitted* the spotless to be defiled. But if Honorius had been himself a Monothelite heretic, he would have been no less an “inventor of the new error” than were Cyrus, Pyrrhus, Paul, or Peter ; * for it was none of these who *originally started* the heretical idea. Indeed S. Leo abstained pointedly from all language, which could be understood to imply that Honorius had himself fallen into heresy. He did not condemn Honorius as a *heretic*. But he proclaimed infallibly the dogmatical fact, that Honorius had grievously injured the Church, by his failure in that energetic *resistance* to heresy, which was the highest duty incumbent on a Roman Pontiff.

Nothing, in fact, can be more intelligible and more consistent than S. Leo’s language on this head throughout. He says the very same thing to the Spanish bishops and the Spanish King, that he says to the Greek Emperor :—

Those who fought against the purity of Apostolic Doctrine and have died, have been punished by an eternal condemnation : that is, Theodore, Cyrus, &c. &c. ; together with Honorius, who did not extinguish at its outset the flame of heretical dogma, as became his Apostolic authority, but by neglecting fostered it.

All the *authors* of heretical assertion were cast out from the Church’s unity ; Theodore, Cyrus, &c. : and *with them*, Honorius of Rome, who *consented* that that undefiled rule of Apostolic tradition should be defiled, which he received from his predecessors.

Mr. Renouf says (p. 12) that such words are “weaker” than that language which condemns Honorius of *heresy*. But this is most unfair ; they are not *weaker* than such language, they are *inconsistent* with it. If Honorius had promoted the heresy by

* “Monothelitarum *parens fuit Sergius.*”—Nat. Alexander.

being himself a Monothelite, he would have promoted it in proportion to his *activity*; and his *neglect* would (negatively) have retarded its growth. S. Leo's language is therefore directly incompatible with the supposition, that he considered Honorius to have been a Monothelite.

There is another and independent argument, which tends powerfully to our conclusion. If S. Leo had intended to condemn Honorius as a heretic, it is most difficult to understand how he can have departed so widely from S. Agatho's judgment. But nothing can be more intelligible than his conduct on the other hypothesis. The legates would have given him a far stronger notion than any previous Pontiff had entertained, on the frightful evil which Honorius's Letters had wrought in the East. Such a report could not affect the Holy Pontiff's opinion on his predecessor's *orthodoxy*; but it would profoundly affect his judgment, as to the injury which that predecessor had inflicted on the Church's Faith.

The received Roman doctrine in later ages was evidently that which we have attributed to S. Leo II. Mr. Renouf quotes in his own behalf (p. 6) the "Liber Diurnus"; but no words can be more expressly against him. Sergius, Pyrrhus, &c., are condemned as "authors of the new heresy;" but Honorius only as "having given an encouragement to their evil operations."

Our author next cites (p. 6) the Seventh Council. But this comes to very little indeed. That Council speaks of the Sixth as having excommunicated Sergius, Honorius, &c., who did not will orthodoxy (*ἀθελήτους τῆς εὐστέβειας*).

By far his strongest citation is that taken (p. 7) from the Eighth Council. There is not a syllable indeed in this sentence, which implies ever so distantly that Honorius taught heresy *ex cathedrā*; nay, as we have already seen (p. 208) the Council expressly rejects the supposition, that any Pope *ever* taught heresy *ex cathedrā*. Still if the sentence stood alone and had to be interpreted by its more obvious meaning, it would afford (we readily admit) some ground for the opinion, that Honorius was condemned for falling into heresy. But surely such an interpretation is *a priori* improbable, in a degree one can hardly exaggerate. It is quite incredible, we say, that after an interval of two centuries, and with no practical bearing whatever, a Pope should (as it were) go out of his way, to visit Honorius with a far severer censure than the earlier Pontiff had done. The most ordinary rules of criticism would lead to the conclusion, that if these words can legitimately be understood in a milder sense, such sense must be the one intended.

Now, as it happens, we can most easily show that such a sense is *perfectly* legitimate. S. Leo II., as has been seen, in writing to the Spanish king and bishops, clearly explained the offence for

which he had anathematized Honorius : viz., for having "fostered the flame of heretical dogma by neglecting to extinguish it"; for having "consented that the undefiled rule of tradition should be defiled." His words, as we pointed out, are absolutely incompatible with the supposition, that he considered Honorius a Monothelite. Yet, after this last expression, he immediately proceeds to say that "all these"—i.e., including Honorius—"preaching one will and one operation, shamelessly laboured to defend heretical doctrine." His meaning in these words is made absolutely certain, by what immediately preceded. All these anathematized persons combined—each in his own way—to disseminate among Christians the Monothelite heresy : others did their work, by actually advocating that heresy ; Honorius, by his most culpable remissness in opposing it. S. Leo II. then, the very Pontiff who condemned Honorius, declared indeed that Honorius had been one of those who "preached" Monothelism ; and yet, in the very same sentence, explained that Honorius had done this merely by means of his culpable neglect. No fact can be more certain than that this was S. Leo's meaning ; and when therefore the later Council repeated S. Leo's very words, it is no unreasonable interpretation to understand them in S. Leo's very sense. We have no doubt whatever that such was the intention of the Eighth Council. Theodore, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Honorius, Cyrus, and the rest combined in disseminating the Monothelite heresy : the others by actively teaching it ; Honorius by not resisting, but rather forwarding, their combined movement.

Such also was undoubtedly the meaning of that Lesson in the Roman Breviary, which Mr. Renouf quotes at p. 6.

Mr. Renouf has the boldness to say (p. 13) that the Roman Church "finally joined in condemning" Honorius as a Monothelite. We have seen how baseless is the statement. And as to any *intrinsic* evidence of Honorius's heresy, it is Mr. Renouf himself who, in accounting his Letter Monothelite, "betrays an utter ignorance of the real nature of the controversy" (p. 14).

We believe there is no single document alleged by Mr. Renouf against Honorius, which we have not harmonized in the argument here brought to an end. For clearness' sake we will recapitulate our successive conclusions.

1. There is not the very slightest—the most superficially colourable—pretence for saying, that any Pope or Council ever condemned Honorius for having taught heresy *ex cathedrâ*. You might just as plausibly say that Benedict XIV. or Pius VI., or any other Pontiff you like to name, has been condemned for teaching heresy *ex cathedrâ*.

2. It is most absolutely certain that he did *not* teach heresy or error *ex cathedrâ*; that neither expressly nor by implication did he

issue any command whatever of interior assent to heretical or mistaken doctrine. Mr. Renouf, intending to deny this statement, in fact corroborates and affirms it.

3. It is far from improbable, but by no means certain, that the Eastern bishops anathematized him for having fallen into heresy; just as they anathematized Sergius, Cyrus, and the rest, for that offence.

4. It is quite certain that no Pope ever anathematized him for such an offence. S. Agatho, as a matter of private opinion, thought that Honorius had rendered the Church good service on the Monothelite question. S. Leo II.—possibly in consequence of having heard much from the legates as to the evil results which Honorius's Letters had wrought in the East—declared ex cathedra that that Pontiff had grievously injured the Church's Faith. But neither S. Agatho nor S. Leo suspected him for a moment of having himself fallen into the Monothelite heresy.

For ourselves, we are thoroughly prepared to defend Honorius's orthodoxy on intrinsic grounds alone. His Letters contain no one syllable savouring of Monothelism; and his First Letter, the only one remaining entire, is conclusive for the perfect Catholicity of his doctrine. We will not, however, here enter on this discussion: for it could not be satisfactorily conducted, unless we had far more leisure and more space at our disposal. Such a discussion moreover would oblige us to consider with some care various matters of dogma,—concerning the Hypostatic Union, the Sacred Humanity, the mutual relations of Christ's two Natures,—which imperatively claim a separate treatment. No solid result could be obtained, by thrusting incidental remarks on them into the midst of an article, which is occupied with matters entirely heterogeneous.

Nor is there any practical reason whatever for our here attempting such an inquiry. Mr. Renouf himself hardly enters at all into the theology of the controversy, but contents himself for the most part with peremptory assertions. “Modern theologians betray an utter ignorance of the real nature of the controversy” (p. 14). “Nothing can be more grossly untrue than the assertion that Honorius was misled by Sergius” (ib.). “His own letters are the best proof that he understood” “the question at issue” (p. 15), and held the Monothelite tenet. The author states peremptorily (p. 18) that those propositions of Honorius, which that Pontiff's advocates allege as inconsistent with Monothelism, are not really inconsistent with it; but he does not state what those propositions are, or how reconcilable with the heretical tenet. We will defer therefore the whole dogmatic question to a future number.

A distinct doctrinal inquiry however may be raised concerning Honorius, on which a few words will be in place. However firmly

he clung to the orthodox dogma at issue—did he not hold that the phrase “two operations” is an unsuitable phrase for its *expression*? That he did not teach this opinion ex cathedrâ we have shown most abundantly; but did he not *hold* it? We are not very clear, but we think not. He undoubtedly held that, under existing circumstances, the use of this phrase was most inexpedient. But we really see no proof that he even asked himself the question, whether in *itself* the expression were or were not inappropriate. He left the matter for “grammarians” to decide. He looked into the details of the controversy most superficially, and he was profoundly mistaken on a most vital question of ecclesiastical prudence; but we know no evidence of his having held any positive *doctrinal* error whatever.

We will conclude our discussion on Honorius with three remarks:—

1. It is very suitable that a Pontiff after his death should be censured for gross neglect of his primary duties. As we argued last October (p. 299), “many holy Popes have been canonized, as for other reasons, so also because of the unwearied assiduity with which they have guarded purity of Faith. It is no derogation then from the Papal office, that a Pope shall be honoured after his death by the Church, for his especial diligence in defending the Faith. Neither therefore is it a derogation from his office, that he shall be *anathematized* after his death for his signal *neglect* in the performance of that duty.”

2. Moreover, Honorius’s condemnation places in emphatic light the difference in *kind* between the Pope and any other bishop, as regards their respective offices in guarding the Deposit. Here is a bishop anathematized for no other offence, than that of having failed to repress heresy with sufficient activity, in a place removed thousands of miles from his own diocese. To no other bishop in Christendom, except the Roman, would any historiandream of alleging that this could by possibility occur.

3. The narrative which we have been considering, is by far the most plausible historical objection against Ultramontanism which has yet been raised; and so evidently thinks Mr. Renouf, by the prominence he has given to it. Yet when you look closely at the circumstances, how completely every difficulty disappears!

If we consulted the rhetorical effect of our article, we should here conclude; having, we trust, successfully dealt with Mr. Renouf’s “cheval de bataille.” His pamphlet did not appear till towards the end of May; and it will be easily understood therefore, that no time is left us to write in detail on the other matters which he has superficially touched. Our comments then on these points must inevitably be brief and fragmentary, and the result

must be an anti-climax. Still certain of his readers will probably be so taken in by his arrogant tone, as to fancy him an authority ; and it is a duty of charity to do what we can towards relieving such timid spirits from their wholly unnecessary alarm. Nothing indeed can be feebler and more desultory than his remarks. He makes no attempt whatever, either to state and defend any theory of his own, or to meet the arguments which Ultramontanes have drawn out for theirs : he does but put together, without order or arrangement, a few miscellaneous facts, which present a superficial appearance of difficulty. As there is no connection of argument in his pages, we will encounter his little pellets as nearly as we can in the order in which he flings them. We will begin, therefore with pp. 25-6.

The author's argument in these two pages only shows the extraordinary credulity often manifested by those who are pre-committed to a theory. The question, whether marriage of baptized persons can be dissolved for the reason to which Mr. Renouf refers, must have been one of the most every-day occurrence in practice. To suppose that a Pope could answer it wrongly—putting aside all reference to supernatural protection—would be like supposing that an English judge is ignorant of the statutable penalties for burglary or arson. It so happens, however, that S. Gregory II.'s answer is extant, and not S. Boniface's letter ; and no one therefore can now be certain to what particular case the former refers. Different suggestions have been made, but there is no reason for troubling our readers with them. (See e.g. *Canus de Locis*, l. 6 c. 8 ad 8.)

We will next consider, with equal brevity, the course of our author's statements from p. 27 to p. 38. Certain Catholics "look forward to the day in which" Pontifical infallibility "shall be defined as an article of faith." "If their hopes are well founded, it is high time that Catholic theologians should get rid of the old maxim about 'quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus,' as a test of Catholic doctrine" (p. 28).

Now we will not here consider what is the sense, and what the authority, of Vincent's famous dictum. *Mr. Renouf* at all events means to say, that no dogma can have been taught by the Apostles, unless it has been faithfully and consistently believed in every portion of the Church from that day to this. If he means less than this, he has merely put together words without any argument whatever ; but if he means so much as this, such an opinion is at once fatal to his reputation as a theologian. We will not waste words on so clear a matter. Take any theological treatise you please—*de Deo*, *de Trinitate*, *de Incarnatione*, *de Gratia*—how many verities have been from time to time defined as of faith, which have by no means (before their definition) been clearly appre-

hended in this or that time and place! Mr. Renouf will admit that the Immaculate Conception was taught by the Apostles: but he will not have the courage to maintain that, before its definition, it had been consistently held "semper, ubique, et ab omnibus." That dogma has now been defined. But putting aside the fact of its definition, we venture to say that, as regards the evidence of its Apostolicity, it stands at a disadvantage in comparison with the dogma of Papal infallibility. We venture to say that there is both much more abundant and much more explicit scriptural and traditional evidence for the Apostles having taught Papal infallibility, than for their having taught the Immaculate Conception.

Mr. Renouf argues that the Apostles cannot have taught this dogma, because in subsequent ages some Catholics have not held it, and others have not clearly apprehended it in its practical applications. We ask him this simple question: Can he name *any consistent doctrine whatever* on the Church's constitution—Ultramontane, Gallican, or any other—which *has* been explicitly and fully apprehended by Catholics of every time and place? Of course he can do nothing of the kind. If he would be consistent, then, he must say, that Christ founded indeed a Church; but that He did not reveal to His Apostles *any consistent doctrine whatever*, on the *constitution* of that Church.

Ultramontanes allege, in the first place, that this dogma has been most faithfully retained from Apostolic times in that Church (the Roman) which it most immediately concerns. Our author admits (p. 27) that "the Popes for a long time have claimed the privilege of infallibility." Can he point to any one period when they did *not* claim it?

Ultramontanes maintain, in the second place, that Catholics, from the first, have held unanimously certain doctrines, which lead by necessary consequence to the full Ultramontane thesis. We enumerated a sufficient number of these in July, 1867 (p. 33). There is not one syllable in the pamphlet before us which tends to show, either that Catholics have *not* been unanimous in holding these doctrines, or that these doctrines do *not* lead by necessary consequence to the full Ultramontane thesis. His facts in pp. 28-9 do not tend to prove more than we have ourselves often admitted: viz., that occasionally other Catholics have been far less clear-sighted than the Pope himself, in apprehending the full issue of their doctrines; in recognizing the true extent and legitimate application of Pontifical prerogative.

From considering our author's general statements, we now come to notice his various incidental assertions.

1. He alleges (p. 31) that "the idea of Papal infallibility was not consistently developed before the sixteenth century." If he means that this dogma was not explicitly known from the Apostolic

age downwards, we entirely dissent from him. Roman Pontiffs from the very first have exhibited a profound consciousness, that God gives them the right of requiring the interior assent of Catholics to every proposition, which they may regard as either an integral portion of the Deposit, or as necessary for the due maintenance of that Deposit. But if the author merely means that this dogma was not, before the sixteenth century, unfolded in all its details, applications, and consequences, we think he has stated much less than the truth. At this moment there are several relevant questions, very far from unimportant, which have received no definitive answer. We need look no further for a few instances, than to Dr. Ward's "Brief Summary," p. 19. But the whole course of his controversy with F. Ryder has afforded one continued illustration of the fact.

2. Mr. Renouf urges (*ib.*) that the distinction between what a Pope *holds* and what he *teaches ex cathedrâ* "was never heard of" before the sixteenth century. It is simply impossible that he can accept his own proposition. He admits (p. 27) that "the Popes have for a long time claimed the privilege of infallibility"; and he must assuredly assign the beginning of that claim to a far earlier century than the sixteenth. Does he mean that, before the sixteenth century, a Pope regarded all Catholics as bound to accept every religious opinion which he might hold himself? Or again, suppose some Pope to write a theological treatise: does Mr. Renouf mean that such a Pope regarded all Catholics as bound to accept every proposition contained in that treatise? To mention one out of a thousand instances, was it *after the sixteenth century* that John XXII. emphatically disavowed all intention of imposing *ex cathedrâ* his own personal opinion, concerning the Beatific Vision? No wonder that a writer, who can think after this incredibly loose and inaccurate fashion, should fall into serious mistakes.

3 "Throughout the middle ages," says the author (p. 31), "it was never doubted that a Pope might . . . become a heretic or schismatic, mad or imbecile;" and he implies by his context that this is inconsistent with the doctrine now advocated by Ultramontanes. Now no fairer specimen can be found of a modern Ultramontane, than Dr. Murray, of Maynooth. Dr. Murray refers to the possibility of some Pope being a formal heretic, and also of some Pope becoming afflicted with insanity; nor does he allege the existence of a Divine *promise* against either calamity. Without entering further on the question of insanity, we will give his view on the more important issue. (See d. 20, n. 108). Can the Pontiff, he asks, become a formal heretic? Bannez, Valentia, and Laymann answer in the affirmative; Tanner and Viva think the thing uncertain; Bellarmine and Wiggers account it probable—Suarez even more probable—that God will *not* permit this. He cites no one theologian who considers it *certain* that some Pope may not be a formal

heretic ; but he adds most reasonably, that the fact of no such circumstance having occurred for so many centuries, affords much increased probability to the more favourable opinion. Dr. Murray adds, as a truth admitted by all, that the Pope may fall *materially* into dogmatical error, and even into heresy.

However let us suppose, for argument's sake, that Mr. Renouf's allegation were true. On such an hypothesis, in addition to the Ultramontane doctrine itself,—viz. that the Pope is infallible ex cathedrâ,—modern Ultramontanes have added another tenet altogether distinct ; viz., that no Pope can fall into formal heresy. For this tenet doubtless they can claim no support from mediæval theologians : but how can such a circumstance affect in the slightest degree the value of mediæval testimony to the *Ultramontane doctrine itself*? It would have been very strange if any mediæval theologians had held the opinion that no Pope can fall into heresy ; considering that, as Mr. Renouf himself informs us (p. 43), S. Liberius was called a heretic in the Roman Breviary, and his fall "was accepted as one of the simply indisputable facts of Church history." On the other hand, as critical and historical studies have advanced, it has become more and more evident that *in fact* no Pope has ever become a formal heretic ; and in consequence the pious hope and opinion has largely and increasingly spread, that God will always preserve the Church from such a calamity.

4. Since the mediævals considered it a certain fact that a Pope could fall into heresy, the question had to be faced, what would result from such a phenomenon. By far the commoner opinion seems to have been, as Mr. Renouf points out (pp. 34–37), that he would cease to be "Pope by ceasing to be a Catholic." For ourselves, while counting it indefinitely more probable that God will never permit such a calamity, we incline with diffidence to the mediæval opinion ; we incline to think that "by the very fact through which he falls from the Faith of Peter, he" would "fall from the Chair and See of Peter" (p. 33).

5. But here ensues a difficulty, to which our author draws attention. A Pope may—by hypothesis—profess formal heresy ; and yet that profession may be generally unknown. He has ceased then to be really Pope, and yet is universally regarded as Pope. Mr. Renouf writes as though this difficulty were confined to the particular case of a Pope secretly professing heresy ; whereas his own authority, *Turrecremata*, might have reminded him (p. 37) that it applies with even greater force to other cases also. Lord Macaulay somewhere supposes that, at a time when hordes of barbarians were baptized en masse, some ten or twenty may have accidentally missed valid baptism. One of these afterwards undergoes the form of ordination and consecration, and is accounted a bishop ; in

due time he is appointed to the Pontificate. He is no real Pope, yet every one so accounts him. Even *more* plausible difficulties are often pressed by Protestants, as arising from the Catholic doctrine concerning sacramental intention. All these perplexities however are really quite groundless, except on one most strange supposition ; except on the supposition that God, having founded the Church, ceases thenceforth to protect and watch over her. Divine Providence, as Turrecremata says (Renouf, p. 37), will protect her against all such evils.

Turrecremata's doctrine has been carried by later theologians to its legitimate results. Divine Providence, he says, will protect the Church against any evil results which might ensue to the Church, from an unavoidable mistake of some seeming Pope for a true one. But if the false Pope proceeded to put forth doctrinal determinations quasi ex cathedrâ, most serious evil *would* accrue to the Church. It is the explicit doctrine therefore of later theologians, that so soon as a Pope, recognized as such by the Universal Church, has put forth any doctrinal determination, he is infallibly the true Pope. Even F. Ryder (Letter, p. 9) considers that this proposition is *de fide*. Whenever therefore any universally recognized Pope puts forth any doctrinal determination, it is infallibly certain that he is not unbaptized, nor otherwise disqualified for the Pontificate.

6. But lastly, urges our author—and this on the surface is his strongest point—mediaeval theologians considered that such a seeming Pope may take advantage of his position, by inculcating heresy on the Church. Both Turrecremata and Ockham (pp. 33-35)—the former of whom denounced the latter “with execration”—yet agree in this opinion. A seeming Pope, according to them, may solemnly “define” “an error against the Faith,” and “assert that it is to be held by Christians as Catholic.”

Now in the first place, *of course* they held this opinion ; for every one thought at that time that S. Liberius had acted in this very way.

Then, secondly, Mr. Renouf is quite mistaken in supposing that such an opinion has been unheard of since the Reformation. There have been few more eminent post-Tridentine Ultramontanes than Valentia ; who expressly quotes Turrecremata's opinion, and pronounces it “not entirely improbable” (“De Objecto Fidei,” p. 7, q. 6).

Nor, thirdly, can the author say that later Ultramontanes have endeavoured to conceal the fact of this opinion having once existed. That admirable journal, the “Katholik,” of Mayence, has entered fully on the subject within the last ten years.

We are not ourselves prepared to concur with this opinion ; but

when it is fully and fairly stated, there is no difficulty in seeing how Ultramontanes may have held it. We cannot explain it better than by putting an imaginary case. Ultramontanes maintain, that the one way assigned by God to Christians for their learning orthodox doctrine, is a docile submission of intellect to whatever the Supreme Pontiff teaches ex cathedrâ. Suppose then Honorius had really taught ex cathedrâ that in Christ there is but one operation and one will. In such a case, all Christians would be required by Ultramontane doctrine to hold this tenet; and so on the Ultramontane hypothesis God would guarantee error as truth. Consequently (as we have so often observed) Ultramontane doctrine would at once be refuted, if any one could show that Honorius taught Monothelism ex cathedrâ. But now change the supposition. Time goes on: S. Leo II. confirms the Sixth Council, and Monothelism is definitely condemned. Suppose some *subsequent* occupier of S. Peter's chair were to declare that in Christ there is but one will, and were to exclude from his communion those who think otherwise. This would be no *doctrinal determination*, but an *heretical profession*. The Church has already definitely declared that in Christ there are two wills; and he who publicly denies that dogma, avows himself a heretic. Turrecremata and other mediaeval theologians thought that God might permit this; because (as is evident) no perplexity or uncertainty could thence accrue to the Catholic's faith. To use their own language—the seeming Pope is no longer a “shepherd,” but stands confessed “a wolf.” And so Valentia explains Turrecremata's doctrine. “Grave authors admit [that a seeming Pope] may desire to obtrude on others his private heresy, which is notoriously such.” “Nor would this,” he adds, “involve danger to the Church. For she, knowing that through manifest heresy such a Pontiff has fallen from his authority and is teaching contrarily to the Church's notorious Faith, would be bound to flee from him.”

This whole line of thought, as we have already explained, is entirely alien to the spirit of later Ultramontane theologians; because as sound criticism has advanced, the opinion has most widely prevailed among them, that God will never *in fact* permit a Pope to fall into formal heresy.

7. The case of S. Liberius is now clear enough. For ourselves we are quite convinced that the whole history of his fall is simply fabulous. Mr. Renouf refuses indeed even to consider the reasoning of F. Stilting the Bollandist, on which Zaccaria, Palma, and others have founded their conclusion; and in order to defend his refusal, has enunciated one of the oddest controversial canons we ever heard of. No Catholic, it seems, has a right to

expect that other Catholics shall even listen to him, till he has first converted some Protestant or some Jew.*

However we cannot here embark on this historical inquiry ; and our general observations must be very brief. Let us suppose, indeed, that some new question had arisen connected with Arianism, and that Liberius had decided that question ex cathedrâ in a sense rejected by later Pontiffs. Such a fact undoubtedly would at once overthrow the Ultramontane theory. But then Mr. Renouf does not even allege any fact of the kind.

The alternative is very simple. At the commencement of Liberius's reign, every Catholic well knew that the Nicene Creed is an infallible Rule of Faith, and that he who rejects that Rule is a heretic. If Liberius did *not* profess rejection of that Rule, Mr. Renouf's facts are, as we believe them, mistaken from first to last ; if Liberius *did* profess its rejection, he professed notorious heresy, and became a "lupus fugiendus." The only inference, deducible from such a circumstance, would be an establishment of Turrecremata's and Valentia's above mentioned doctrine.

In our next number, however, we hope to consider the Liberius question at greater length.

Although we think so meanly of this pamphlet, we are by no means sorry that it has appeared. For several years an impression has widely prevailed among Catholics, that controversy on the doctrine of infallibility is practically at an end ; that Gallicanism is virtually extinct, and that no other question on the subject remains to be discussed. But recently in Germany, and now in England, arguments against Papal infallibility are again pressed energetically by certain Catholics ; and this fact will necessarily disturb the "status quo." We augur nothing but good to the cause of truth from this agitation. We have no doubt indeed, that far abler assaults than Mr. Renouf's will be directed against Ultramontanism ; assaults proceeding from thinkers, who at least understand what the doctrine *is* which they assail. But then equal activity will be displayed by learned Catholics on the other side ; and the anti-Papal cause is so thoroughly rotten, that no amount of learning and ingenuity can permanently keep it together. Meanwhile this great advantage will accrue from the discussion being reopened, that the "subject" of infallibility will be considered in close connection with the "object" thereof ; that theologians will not content themselves with asking "*with whom*

* "It will be time to consider his arguments, when they have convinced a single impartial Protestant like Gieseler or Neander, or a learned Jew like the editor of the 'Regesta'" (p. 45, note).

resides the gift of infallibility," but will consider the further question "*over how large a body of truth* that gift extends."

Such writers as Orsi, Ballerini, Muzzarelli, Cappellari, have conferred great and imperishable services on the Church; and yet it must be confessed that they have occasionally fallen into much inaccuracy of language,—that they have spoken inconsistently with each other, nay with themselves—from not having thoroughly and methodically considered the *extent* of infallibility. We are very confident that Catholic theologians of the present day, when they are obliged to treat the question at all, will treat it as a whole. They will carefully and profoundly examine such questions as the following: the precise relation of infallibility to the Deposit; the bearing and the limits of infallibility over ground primarily secular; the tests of an *ex cathedrâ* Act; the authority of doctrinal Apostolic Letters, whether addressed to the whole Church or to individuals; and a multitude of others. They will not be content till they have drawn out some full and satisfying exposition, which shall be in profound agreement with the testimony of Scripture and Tradition; which shall harmonize the facts of the past both with each other and with the facts of the present; which shall be explicitly contradictory, not only of Gallicanism on one hand, but (what under present circumstances is a far more dangerous and insidious enemy) of minimism also on the other.

Notices of Books.

The Supreme Authority of the Pope. By the Rev. Father BOTTALLA, S. J., Dogmatical Professor in S. Beuno's College.

WE have to thank F. Bottalla for sending us the proof-sheets of his work; which have arrived just as we were making up for press. The work itself will appear, we suppose, pretty nearly at the same time as our present number. We hope to notice it in October with a care proportional to its importance; at the moment we can only give a most general account of its contents.

Its purpose is, not to reproduce in a different shape the labours of former theologians (p. 2), but to meet the various points raised by Dr. Pusey in his "Eirenicon" and by other Anglicans: and it is thus in some sort a sequel to F. Harper's admirable volume, "Peace through the Truth." F. Bottalla (p. 3) reserves to a future work the Pope's "*infallibility*, with reference to its foundations, extension, and consequences": and here treats only the Pope's *supremacy*.

From first to last the author's argument is most conclusive. In the cursory reading, for which alone we have yet had time, the points which have particularly struck us are—his argument in p. 32 (which we have nowhere seen before) against the Protestant interpretation of "super hanc petram";—his treatment of S. Cyprian;—his discussion on the 28th canon of Chalcedon;—and his exposition of S. Gregory's drift in regard to the term "Universal Bishop."

A Sermon. By HENRY EDWARD, Archbishop of Westminster. With Speeches and Letters by the Clergy and Laity on our Duty to the Heathen. London: Burns, Oates, and Co., Portman Street.

THIS valuable little Pamphlet is a collection of different important testimonies to the greatness and necessity of the work of establishing a College in England specially devoted to the work of Foreign Missions. The collection has been most effectively and judiciously made; opening with the beautiful and appropriate sermon preached by his Grace the Archbishop at the opening of the little church of the Foreign Missionary College on S. Joseph's Day. Then follows a full and most correct report of the meeting at S. James's Hall; and deeply as we were interested in attending what was among the most successful Catholic meetings of our times, it was with fresh pleasure that we read this excellent reproduction of the numerous and inter-

resting speeches there delivered. That of the Archbishop, as usual, shines with the greatest brilliancy; and it is succeeded by the very interesting account given by Father Vaughan himself of his generous reception in America. Among the admirable speeches that follow, it would be difficult to select any deserving especial pre-eminence; all agree in pronouncing an English Foreign Missionary College one of the most important works of the day, and many of them contain very interesting anecdotes apropos of the subject in hand.

If we needed any further evidence of the complete ecclesiastical approbation and authorization enjoyed by Father Vaughan's work than that afforded by the presence of nearly the whole of our English hierarchy at this meeting, it would be obtained by the signal encouragement of the Holy Father, and cordial sympathy of the English Bishops, expressed in the letters, &c., which complete the pamphlet. Indeed to read this little book is to be convinced of the prominent, not to say primary, importance of Father Vaughan's work, among the different and numerous charities of the day.

Catholic University Education in Ireland. By the Very Rev. BARTH
WOODLOCK, D.D. Dublin: Fowler.

IN July, 1866 (p. 98), we pointed out that the scheme of Catholic education, at that time favoured by the Irish bishops, was "avowedly a compromise." "The Irish bishops," we added, "have abandoned what they think a higher ideal—viz., a chartered Catholic University—for what under present circumstances they hold to be more attainable, or more desirable, or both. Considering that they act in fullest communication with Rome, and considering also the various conditions of the problem, we quite believe that in this they judge correctly. Still it is imaginable that a good Catholic may think otherwise; though of course, now that the bishops have determined their course, he would not dream of publicly obtruding an opposite opinion."

It is most important however to point out, that the compromise, then accepted by the Irish bishops, was a plan essentially different in kind from that of a Catholic College at Oxford, which was considered by the English bishops and by Propaganda in the winter of 1864-5. Catholic youths at Oxford would have lived in the midst of Protestants, exposed to all the debasing influences of a Protestant University, and on terms of unavoidable intimacy with Protestant associates. The Irish bishops could never have regarded such a scheme with less unreserved disapproval than did their English brethren. The plan to which they assented, proposed that Catholics should have no local connection whatever with a mixed University; nor any connection of any kind, beyond that of their being examined for University degrees by a University board, on subjects and on books determined by the University.

We rejoice however to infer from the pamphlet before us, that the Irish bishops now consider themselves warranted in aiming at the highest ideal, and that

they have abandoned all idea of surrendering a Catholic University. Dr. Woodlock argues very ably, that a distinct Catholic University is indefinitely better suited than a mere College to promote the Catholic's highest "religious and educational interests." It is impossible, within the limits of a notice, to argue so very wide a question: though it is a question, as we think, on which (assuming Catholic principles) all the argument is exclusively on one side. We can here only give one or two references to the author's unanswerable reasoning.

We are very glad to observe the frankness with which he condemns (p. 4) those Catholic members, who supported Mr. Fawcett's plan of unProtestantizing Trinity College. And we hail with particular pleasure his admirably expressed opinion (p. 5) that "the Chapel of Trinity College, although not sanctified by the Sacramental Presence, is still the representative of a holy idea: it announces to the Protestant youth who crosses the threshold of that University, that learning, to be fruitful of good, must be based upon religion; must cluster round it; must not grovel on earth, but must look up to heaven."

Our author's main argument is the very obvious one that, according to the College scheme, it would be the mixed University which would prescribe the curriculum of studies. "A mixed senate would be put at the head of the education of our Catholic country" (p. 10). "History, mental philosophy, ethics, political economy, many other" studies (ib.) come into contact with Catholic doctrine at every turn. It is in fact hardly an exaggeration to say, that they are essentially different studies, as pursued respectively by a consistent and loyal Catholic on one hand, and by a non-Catholic on the other. The guardians of the Faith cannot but see the gravest evils in any project, which should permit the final voice in the direction of such studies to rest with any other authority than their own.

But there is another study even more important than these, on which we are somewhat surprised that Dr. Woodlock does not enlarge: we mean the study of Catholic doctrine. In October, 1864, when discussing the parallel question of English Catholic University Education, we expressed in some little detail (pp. 376-382) our own humble views, on the great importance or rather necessity of this study, with a view to the higher ends of Catholic lay education. Doubtless it could be well *taught* in a Catholic College, affiliated to a mixed University; but would it be well *learned* there? We confidently answer in the negative. As we observed in the same article (p. 400), nothing which is prepared for a purely domestic and family examination, will impress and occupy the mind even commensurably with those studies, proficiency in which will be displayed before a University audience, stamped by University approval, and rewarded by University renown.

One objection is urged against denominational education, from its tendency to interfere with "unity of national feeling." We cannot but think that Dr. Woodlock, in arguing (p. 13) against this objection, has taken somewhat too low ground. Of course there could be no greater blessing to Ireland than that "unity of national feeling," which would result from Protestants being converted to the truth. Of course also, even while they remain Pro-

testants, it is most desirable that there should be the smallest possible amount of mutual ill-feeling and animosity. But Catholics and Protestants differ from each other on matters, which are among the most important that can occupy the human intellect or influence the human character. Catholics and Protestants undoubtedly might unite on the basis of latitudinarianism ; to Ireland's unspeakable evil both spiritual and temporal. But how *zealous* Catholics and *zealous* Protestants can possess "unity of feeling" with each other, it baffles us to conjecture. As we argued in that article to which we have already more than once referred (Oct. 1864, p. 381), an Irish Catholic has "a far closer corporate connection with a French or Italian Catholic than with an Irish Protestant ; and if he be a loyal son of the Church, will have with him a far deeper and wider sympathy." And to our mind one especial benefit of denominational education will be, that it will impress far more vividly than any other on the mind of Catholic laymen this fundamental verity.

In conclusion, we hope all our readers will peruse this effective pamphlet on the most vital question of the day.

Studien über die Honorius-Frage. Von. G. SCHNEEMANN, S.J. Freiburg,
1864.

IT has fallen to the lot of Honorius's memory to be the battle-ground of successive theological controversies. The Gallicans, for the most part, made his alleged heretical teaching and condemnation one of the chief keys of their position ; the Jansenists defended his orthodoxy, because they desired to draw from the Acts of the Sixth General Council a conclusive argument against the Church's infallibility on dogmatic facts ; and lately we have seen his name brought forward in the cause of minimism. From the sixteenth century until the French Revolution the dispute raged continuously, but especially for the 130 years following the commencement of the Jansenist struggle. During this period, as Döllinger says, nearly every theologian of name entered the lists, and more was written on this than on any other single question of the ecclesiastical history of 1,500 years. The Revolution, however, was only a temporary interruption to the strife. Döllinger, in his "Papst-fabeln," published in 1863, went out of his way to drag in the subject, and to revive within the Church the opinion which, before the end of the seventeenth century, Garnier was able to say was "held by few, and those either of suspected faith on other grounds, or of no great authority" (Append. ad not. Lib. Diurn)—viz., that the Letters of Honorius contain the Monothelite heresy, and that he was condemned as a heretic. This attack of Döllinger drew forth a reply the following year—the excellent tractate of Father Schneemann, to which it is the object of this notice to draw attention. We are heartily glad to see that an English translation of it is advertised. It is the more needed now, since an attempt has quite recently been made by an English writer to use the commonplaces of the

controversy against the Ultramontane doctrine. Of Mr. Renouf's pamphlet we have spoken in a separate article.

Father Schneemann's "Studien" are divided into four parts. In the first, entitled "The Pontificate of Honorius I," fifteen pages are devoted to a sketch of his reign ; which has a special interest for English Catholics, as Honorius was a disciple of S. Gregory the Great, for whose memory he had a tender affection, and, like his master, laboured with zeal and success for the conversion of our forefathers. It was he who sent S. Birinus to England, and through him turned back the tide of paganism which had swept away the work of S. Paulinus and S. Felix in the north and east of the country. The second part is called "The Judgment of Honorius," and is a history of the "great trial of his orthodoxy," F. Schneemann traces this through its three stages—the first shortly after the Pontiff's death, when he was defended by S. Maximus, the Abbot John, and Pope John IV. ; the second, that of the Sixth General Council ; and the third, the phase of the discussions of the last two centuries. Here our author shows the almost unanimous consensus of Catholic writers in favour of the orthodoxy of Honorius, and has occasion to pass some severe strictures on Dr. Döllinger for garbling and misrepresentation of authorities. This part occupies twelve pages. The third part is a masterly "Exegesis of the two Letters of Honorius," in twenty pages. This seems to us the best part of the pamphlet. Several pages of it are occupied with a very able examination into the patristic use of the words *okovopia* and *dispensatio*, as applied to our Lord's Incarnation ; a question which has an important bearing on the orthodoxy of the two letters. The fourth and last division is on the "Meaning of the Anathema pronounced against Honorius." This is the most difficult portion of the subject, as Father Schneemann himself admits ; and we could have wished that he had treated it with greater length and fulness. It occupies only six pages of the whole pamphlet. Father Schneemann adopts, with the majority of Ultramontane writers, the explanation of Garnier. "It is certain," he says, "that the decisions of a General Council are only valid so far as they are approved by the Pope. The Sixth Council acknowledged this by requesting of Agatho the approbation of its decrees. We must accordingly see in what way Leo II. pronounced the anathema against Honorius. Döllinger answers this question thus in his 'Lehrbuch' (i. 173) : 'Leo places the error of Honorius in this, that by his negligence he promoted heresy, and suffered the Church to be contaminated by it.'" F. Schneemann then goes on to show by passages from S. Leo's Letters, that such was undoubtedly his meaning in condemning Honorius.

To those who have not time or opportunity to study for themselves the voluminous literature of the subject, we would strongly recommend Father Schneemann's pamphlet ; as supplying, in a short and interesting way, a fair acquaintance with a controversy, which promises still to be, as it so long has been, one of the most keenly debated in all ecclesiastical history.

Die Encyclica Papst Pius IX., vom 8 December, 1864 : Stimmen aus MARIA LAACH. Freiburg, 1865—1868.

WE noticed in our July number a pamphlet by Father Florian Riess, S.J., on the obligation imposed by the Encyclical and Syllabus of 1864. It was published as the introduction to a series of pamphlets, under the general title which is placed at the head of the present notice, treating of the various errors condemned in the Syllabus. We have now before us ten of the series, to which two more are yet to be added. Although popular tracts, in the sense that they can be read by those who have no previous acquaintance with theology, they show a thorough and scholarly grasp of the subjects which the writers have undertaken; and as a proof of the care with which they have been written, we find it mentioned in the introduction to one of them that the author has read more than one work right through in order to ascertain with precision the sense of a single proposition ("Kirchliche Lehrgewalt," p. 13). That the series has answered to a want in Germany, and that it is appreciated, we judge from the fact that most of the numbers have already gone to a second edition, and one to a third.

After Father Riess's introductory number, appeared "The Fundamental Errors of our Time," by Father Roh, briefly explaining the condemnation of the errors comprised in the Syllabus under the heads of Pantheism, Naturalism, Rationalism, Indifferentism, and Latitudinarianism. This was followed by "The Errors on the Subject of Marriage," from the pen of Father Schneemann, which soon reached a second edition. The fourth number was "The Pope and the States of the Church," an excellent defence of the civil principedom of the Holy See, by Father Rattinger. The fifth is entitled "Modern Heresies, or Liberalism and its Ramifications in the Light of Revelation," in which Father Riess shows the thoroughly Antinomian character of consistant Liberalism. The three following numbers are by Father Schneemann; and bear the titles of "The Freedom and Independence of the Church," "The Power of the Church and its Holders," and "The Pope, the Head of the whole Church." In the first the author shows that the Church, according to the will of her Divine Founder, is (a) a true society, (b) a perfect society, (c) an entirely free society, and (d) endowed with the right of acquiring and possessing property.

In the second he treats of (a) the power of the Church over her members in general, (b) her judicial power, (c) her power in temporal things, (d) the holders of the Church power—the clergy, (e) the immunity of the clergy, and (f) the episcopate. Father Schneemann approaches the subject of the Church's indirect temporal power by remarking that few questions are beset by such violent prejudices, even amongst Catholics; a circumstance which he attributes to the strange fact that "so many are better instructed in every other subject than in their religion and whatever has to do with its history." He then introduces his argument by the admissions of Protestant writers.

"To shame them, and to dissipate their prejudices, it will be of use to quote the expressions of some non-Catholic philosophers on this indirect temporal power. Let us listen, in the first place, to the celebrated Leibnitz.

'The arguments of Bellarmine, who sets out with the supposition that the Popes possess at least a mediate power over temporal things, have seemed not inconsiderable even to Hobbes. It is certain, indeed, that he who has received from God full power to carry out the work of the salvation of souls, must also hold the power to put down the ambition and tyranny of the great, which drive such a multitude of souls to perdition.' The Protestant philosopher then adds, 'No one, at least among Catholics, can doubt that such a power belongs to the Universal Church, to which consciences are subject.' Mendelssohn, a Jew by extraction, speaks just as distinctly: 'The State and the Church—the charge of temporal things, the charge of eternal things—civil and ecclesiastical authority,—the former holds the same relation to the latter as the importance of temporal interests does to that of eternal interests; the State is therefore subordinate to the Church, and must give way if a collision should occur. Let him who is able resist Cardinal Bellarmine with the tremendous sequence of his arguments, that the head of the Church on behalf of eternal interests, is set over temporals also, and can therefore, at least indirectly, exercise a high jurisdiction over them.' 'Men speak against the Pope,' says the Protestant historian Johann Von Müller, 'as though it would be a great misfortune if some authority of the ecclesiastical moral law were able to command the ambition and tyranny of princes, Thus far and no further.'

Father Schneemann's treatise on "The Pope as Head of the Church," is the eighth of the series. The tractarian and ritualistic controversies have given a special interest to the treatment of the supremacy of the Holy See amongst us. Much has been written on it in England; but it would be difficult to find, on the historical evidences, anything so complete as Father Schneemann's pamphlet within the compass of 148 octavo pages, and with the character of a popular treatise. Besides the positive evidences, he deals with the principal historical objections; such as the resistance of S. Cyprian, the case of Apriarius and the African Bishops, the Greek schism, &c. There is also a very able introduction, on the reasons for the less prominent appearance of the Papal power in the early history of the Church than in later times.

Father Meyer next deals, in a treatise called "The Principles of Morality and Right," with the errors condemned in the Syllabus, under the head of "Errors on Natural and Christian Ethics," including the modern principles of "accomplished facts,"—"non-intervention,"—the right of overthrowing governments, &c., and is then followed once more by the indefatigable Father Schneemann, whose pamphlet, entitled "The Teaching Power of the Church," is perhaps the most important part of the series. Of the five chapters into which it is divided, the third and fourth are on "The Church's Teaching Power," and the "Infallibility of the Pope and of General Councils." A few extracts will show how completely Father Schneemann's doctrine is in accord with the principles which have been so earnestly maintained in this REVIEW.

After ably demonstrating the infallibility of the Church, not only in dogma properly so called, but also in dogmatic facts (pp. 60-68),—he asks, "Is the Church's teaching office limited to the definition of dogma and dogmatic facts?" Here he makes a very complimentary reference to Dr. Ward's "Authority of Doctrinal Decisions" and other writings on the sub-

ject, and to Father Knox's "When does the Church speak infallibly?" but curiously supposes the controversy to have been imported into England from Germany. This is F. Schneemann's answer to the question. Speaking of the Bull "Unigenitus," he says:—

We have, accordingly, in the Bull "Unigenitus," a dogmatical decision of the whole Catholic Church, in virtue of which, under pain of the severest ecclesiastical censures, nay—under pain of refusal of absolution, even at the hour of death, unconditional assent is required, not only to dogmata in the strict sense of the word, but also to other truths, which are merely connected with dogmata. The Church, therefore, lays claim to infallibility in this point also, a claim which we must admit *if we would remain Catholics*. Let it be remarked, however, that with regard to such decisions the Church does not require an act of divine faith, which she claims only for dogmata—truths which are contained in Revelation—it suffices that we submit our judgment to that of the Church, *as to an infallible judgment* (p. 77).

"The theologian may easily go astray in the obscurity of the objects of Faith, and this cannot be otherwise than unwholesome, pernicious. For even should such false systems not by open heresy immediately contradict the Faith, but only in their distant consequences, still they are always hostile to it." This author illustrates from the instance of lines which are not quite parallel; and must therefore, in their more or less distant prolongation intersect; or of some organic disease trifling in itself, but which must sooner or later cause death. He then acknowledges how often it happens that the evil consequences lie hidden, and the mischievous doctrine is held by those who "would a thousand times rather give up their opinion than the Faith with which it is in contradiction;" and continues, "This disposition the Church respects, and therefore uses the power of which we are here treating with the greatest considerateness and moderation. But experience shows also how easily scientific men become entangled in certain views, pet ideas and systems, and how hard it is for them to extricate themselves from them. If we add their natural dislike to withdraw a theory once put forth, to acknowledge their error, and also vanity, and the spirit of contradiction,—perhaps also the external influence of evil-minded men, eager to urge and goad them into opposition to the Church's decisions, it is easy to understand that Faith does not always come off victorious in the conflict of views, but in innumerable cases succumbs. If, then, the Church is to guard against this danger, she must be able to condemn, not only heresies immediately contrary to the Faith, but also those doctrines which in their consequences injure faith or morals; and that all the more because such doctrines are often more alluring than open heresies. The consequences of a false system are not clear to all, and do not therefore cause alarm, whilst the glitter of science which, perhaps, surrounds it, the authority of the man who has built it up, the enthusiastic reception which, perhaps, it has met with, mislead the unsuspecting" (p. 71).

The author argues the infallibility of the Church in her minor censures, as we have so often done, from the decree of the Council of Constance and the "Unigenitus" of Clement XI.

The question of Gallicanism is one which has been little handled in this REVIEW in recent years, because it seemed happily to be foreign to our present needs;—as we have had occasion, however, to enter upon the subject in an article of the present number, we will call special attention to its treatment in the "Stimmen aus Maria Laach." Father Schneemann devotes half

of his treatise (pp. 104–215) to the Infallibility of the Pope. We would especially draw Mr. Renouf's attention to his sketch of the history of Gallicanism (p. 118). Mr. Renouf states that the Ultramontane system was elaborated in the sixteenth century. Father Schneemann, on the other hand, writes as follows: "That the infallibility of the Pope was universally received in the Middle Ages, is testified by Tapper, a theologian of the Council of Trent, and Chancellor of the University of Louvain. Similar evidence is given by three other learned men, whom we may reckon without hesitation among the most thoroughly acquainted with mediaeval theology. 'Before the Councils of Basle and Constance,' remarks Raynaldus, 'all theologians unanimously taught that Papal definitions made anything a fixed truth of faith.' So Bellarmine says that the doctrine that Papal decisions ex cathedrâ claim infallibility is the most common opinion of nearly all Catholics." Bellarmine inserts the limitation 'nearly' because he includes the period subsequent to the Council of Constance, during which certainly some had taught the contrary."

Father Schneemann then quotes Thomassinus, who, after testifying to the clear tradition of all ages previous to the Council of Constance against the Gallicans, adds with regard to them, "They do not cease to be Catholics, because *their simplicity*" excuses them, &c. (p. 118). We may remark that Thomassinus is as well known for his moderation as for his learning.

"Pichler, the more than Gallican living historian of the Greek schism, says of Bellarmine, the well-known defender of Papal infallibility, that on the whole he only maintained the views of the great majority of the scholastics" (p. 119).

Gerson, the father of Gallicanism, speaking of what he considered the extreme views of the Pope's power, and especially "the proposition that the Pope could by himself alone compose a symbol of faith," adds, "this tradition had, before the celebration of this holy Council of Constance, so possessed the minds of the greater number (servants indeed of the letter, rather than of science) that any one who had taught the contrary *would have been condemned as a heretic.*"

F. Schneemann shows how Gallicanism first took its rise in the disorders of the Western schism,—how a complete reaction, setting in with the period of the Council of Trent, once more re-established the universal belief of the Pope's infallibility; and, coming to the middle of the seventeenth century, traces step by step first the threats of the Jansenists, by which they hoped to avert their condemnation, and then their successful attempt through the ministers Le Tellier, De Lyonne, and Colbert, who had the ear of the young Louis XIV., to enlist the whole political power of France, the king and the parliaments in a campaign against that doctrine, which they represented in such a way as to offend the pride of the one, and the semi-Calvinism dominant in the other. Then comes the long struggle of the Sorbonne against the Royal absolutism, and the famous declaration of 1682 (pp. 127, 138). F. Schneemann sets forth also the noble reparation of the France of the nineteenth century for the Gallican teaching of the eighteenth. Mr. Renouf has told the world that "all the learned priests he ever met, or

indeed heard of, were determined Gallicans." We refer him to pp. 138-151 of F. Schneemann for an answer. We cannot here give the numerous passages quoted by the learned Jesuit expressing the most unhesitating faith in the infallibility of the Holy See : we cannot even enumerate the Councils, Bishops, and writers from whom they are taken, ranging from the year 1849 to the present date : but they include the Provincial Councils of Rheims, Tours, Avignon, Toulouse, Aix, Bordeaux, Alby, Lyons, Auch ; the second of Bordeaux, the second and third of Rheims, and a number of individual archbishops and bishops. After these come similar testimonies from provincial and plenary Councils of Germany, Italy, Spain, England, Ireland, and America.

We have noticed these pamphlets at some length,—not only because of their intrinsic value,—but also because it is important to show our complete union of doctrine and principle with the Catholic learning of other nations, and especially with the ever growing school of distinguished Ultramontane writers in Germany.

Postscriptum to Letter to W. G. Ward, Esq. By H. J. D. RYDER, of the Oratory. London : Longmans.

A Brief Summary of the recent Controversy on Infallibility : being a reply to the Rev. F. Ryder on his Postscript. By W. G. WARD, D.Ph. London : Burns & Oates.

THESE two pamphlets, we have reason to think, will terminate the passage at arms between F. Ryder and Dr. Ward ; though neither of the two combatants has convinced the other. In accordance with our practice on former occasions, we have appended Dr. Ward's concluding reply to our present number ; and in doing so we have corrected a little inadvertence, for which Dr. Ward has to apologize. At p. 6, as it originally stood, by an awkward use of quotation marks, the impression was conveyed that Dr. Ward was citing F. Ryder's *words*, where in fact he was only intending to express the drift of that writer's *argument*.

On reviewing the controversy, we must express our opinion that in one particular F. Ryder has rendered a lasting service to theology. We refer to the stress which he has laid throughout on the "pietas fidei," on the obligation under which Catholics lie of yielding a real interior assent—though of course not an absolute and unreserved assent—to many ecclesiastical declarations which are not strictly infallible. We had ourselves prominently advocated this view in our treatment of Galileo's case ; but it is to F. Ryder that Catholics are indebted, both for dwelling on the wide range of this "pietas fidei," and also for bringing into notice the phrase itself, which is excellent.

Nor has this been by any means a merely nominal concession on his part ; on the contrary, the view profoundly influences his whole ecclesiastical demeanour. It is this which separates him by so wide a gulf from such writers as those of the defunct "Chronicle" and "Home and Foreign Review."

His theory on the extent of infallibility, as far as we can make out, is not very unlike theirs ; but he differs most widely from them in his attitude towards those pronouncements, which he does *not* consider infallible. He is as conspicuous throughout for his spirit of loyalty and docility, as they are for the very opposite qualities.

At the same time we are bound frankly to say—as we have said more than once during the controversy—that in our humble judgment there is a signal inconsistency between his *tone* and his *principles*. We cannot express too strongly our opinion, on the violently and fundamentally anti-Catholic character of *these* ; or on the inevitableness and immediateness of that logical process, by which they would lead their consistent upholder to apostacy from the Faith. Dr. Ward mentions this in pp. 27, 8 ; while adding of course, how well he is aware that in F. Ryder's own case no such danger can practically exist.

In speaking thus severely of F. Ryder's principles, we are not guilty of vague and inarticulate invective. No one can have greater horror than we have of such a practice ; no one can more heartily detest any habit of denouncing this or that view as anti-Catholic, without carefully explaining wherein precisely *consists* its antagonism to Catholicity. But in his last reply Dr. Ward has expressed with perfect distinctness five different opinions, which he ascribes to F. Ryder, and which he “alleges to be gravely censurable” (pp. 5–14) ; he explains (pp. 9, 10) quite clearly his reasons for thinking, that F. Ryder's “attitude towards” certain Pontifical Constitutions “is in itself mortally sinful ;” he argues in detail (pp. 16, 17) for the charge that F. Ryder, by his view of the Syllabus, exhibits “in effect, though assuredly not in intention, grave disloyalty to the Teacher of all Christians.”

Never, to our mind, were two opposite theological elements more singularly mixed than in F. Ryder ; never was a *tone* so loyal united with *principles* so malignant. That in his case his *principles* do not really possess his mind—that it is his *tone* which truly represents the *man*—we have never had a moment's doubt from first to last. Our personal respect for him is most sincere and unqualified.

L'Irlande et l'Autriche : première partie. Par M. de Montalembert. Correspondant, May, 1868. Paris : Douniol.

WE shall attempt no appreciation of this remarkable paper, until we have the sequel in our hands ; our concern here is exclusively with a paragraph in p. 587. M. de Montalembert thinks, we trust untruly, that certain English Catholics hold the following opinions :—They hold it “as *certain*,” according to him, “that in our modern times the Church flourishes more, and gains more souls for heaven, in proportion as she has less contact with earthly governments.” They hold that, “even in countries entirely Catholic, the temporal power does no good to the spiritual, and its action produces

nothing but scandals and weaknesses." They hold that "at Rome, *and only at Rome*, ought the union between Church and State to be maintained."

Now, in the year 1832 Pope Gregory XVI. addressed all Catholic bishops in the following terms, and the whole Episcopate accepted his instruction (we quote from the "Mirari vos") :—"Nor should we be able to augur happier results, either to religion or to the body politic, from the plans of those who desire Church to be separated from State, and the mutual concord to be broken off which now exists between the priesthood and the civil power. For it is evident that those *who love most shameless licence* fear that concord between Church and State, which has ever been *propitious and salutary to both*."

If there be really any English Catholic who has held the opinion ascribed to him by M. de Montalembert, we trust that he may have formed it in ignorance of Gregory XVI.'s judgment ; and that he will feel a pang of keen regret at having fallen unawares into condemned error. But if there be some still disposed to persevere, we would suggest to them such considerations as the following :—

Will they allege that the circumstances of society have been revolutionized since Gregory XVI. spoke ? We cannot imagine any one thinking this ; and the Count represents their opinion as applying to the whole period of "our modern times." Moreover, so lately as Dec. 8, 1864, the proposition was condemned (Syllabus, prop. Iv.) that "Church should be separated from State and State from Church." We cannot see the distinction between this condemned error and the view ascribed by the Count to these English Catholics.

Now let us even make, for argument's sake, the extravagant supposition, that the Church's teaching in the "Mirari vos" is not strictly infallible. Still, we ask, is it consistent with the most ordinary humility in a Catholic—is it consistent even with his sanity—that he should hold as "certain" an opinion which has been censured by the whole Ecclesia Docens ? And even were he unhappy enough to hold it, is it accordant with the commonest notions of decency and propriety that he should publicly express it ?

But in the Encyclical "Singulare nos," of June 21st, 1834, Gregory XVI. expressly informed all Catholic bishops that in the "Mirari vos" he had declared to the whole Catholic flock sound doctrine, and that *which alone it is lawful to follow*, on the subjects therein mentioned ; that he had "defined "Catholic doctrine according to the authority committed to him." And if it be objected that he does not use the actual word "infallible," our answer is most easy ; for neither is that word used in regard to the canons of Trent, or the definition of the Immaculate Conception. It is an admitted principle of theology, as F. Ryder himself admits, that the Church claims infallibility, wherever she enjoins absolute interior assent.

We are obliged therefore to say, that those who *interiorly* reject the teaching of the "Mirari vos," are rebelling against the Church's infallible authority ; and that those who publicly *express* that rejection, are in effect exhorting their fellow-Catholics to join them in ecclesiastical rebellion and in the commission, material at least, of mortal sin.

On the other hand, if the opinions, ascribed by M. de Montalembert to

certain English Catholics, do *not* involve a direct rejection of the "Mirarivos"—we are very curious to understand what Gregory XVI. can have meant in the passage we have quoted.

Civiltà Cattolica, 6 Giugno, 1868 : "Un caso di coscienza sugli errori condannate dalla Santa Sede nel 1864."

Katholik, Vol. II., 1867 : "Ueber eine theologische controversi, jenseits des Canals."

Révue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques. Mars, 1868.

IT is not our purpose here to enter into the substance of the controversy on doctrinal decisions of the Holy See in which this Review and its Editor have been engaged ; but we consider it owing to ourselves and to our adversaries to make known in our pages from time to time the view taken of the subject by the Catholic journalists of other countries. We shall refer on the present occasion to articles from each of the journals we have named at the head of this notice, as representatives of Italy, Germany, and France. The following words are from an article in the "Civiltà," on the now famous case of conscience argued in the Paris Ecclesiastical Conference on the 5th of February of this year. (See our last number, p. 520.)

"An objector may perhaps say that all 'these judgments (of the Syllabus) are not dogmatic ; that the Church has not enjoined that these her decisions should be believed as dogmata of faith ; and he may hence argue that each individual remains free to think as he pleases, and may lawfully continue to hold, at least interiorly, the contrary opinion. We answer that such a difficulty is based upon a most false supposition. Those who thus object suppose that the judgments of the Church are infallible only when they are dogmatic ; which is a grave and perilous mistake. The Church is infallible not only in defining that which is, strictly speaking, a dogma of faith or morals, but also whenever she teaches any truth whatsoever which is connected with dogmata, or touches them in any way ; and, lastly, she is infallible also when she teaches a doctrine, or imposes a law, declaring that the one or the other regards the general good of the Church or her rights or discipline, even though it may seem, or even actually be the case, that such decision does not touch the dogmata of faith or morals. In all these cases each one of the faithful is under the obligation of obeying exteriorly, and also of assenting interiorly to such ecclesiastical definitions; and whoever acts otherwise commits sin,* and suffers a loss of his Catholic profession, &c." (pp. 337, 338).

The following is the passage we have selected from the "Katholik":—

"'Dr. Ward,' will many a reader have thought, 'must be a very monster of intellectual tyranny, an unparalleled fanatic, to use such an imperious style of language, as the Pope himself does not use ; and when first I heard his doctrine characterized by the mouth of one of his English opponents, with the names of a 'farrago of nonsense,' 'monstrous,' 'unheard of,' 'savouring of monomania,' I was almost tempted to direct my inquiries rather into the

* The sin here spoken of, according to the whole scope and the conclusion of the article, is "sin" in the strict theological sense of "mortal sin."

path of a pathological investigation of his mental aberrations than into that of the proper subject of the controversy. The historical instinct, however, which is the privilege of us Germans, induced me to look more closely into the whole situation, and the substance of Dr. Ward's teaching, before pursuing my psychological studies. I soon became aware that I had to do not with psychological peculiarities on the side of Ward, but with temperate and able scientific deductions ; and I almost conceived the malicious suspicion, that his adversaries had transferred the question to the region of personalities, in order to escape from his logic."

The writer in the "Katholik" proceeds to express his substantial agreement with Dr. Ward ; while implying at the same time that on certain subordinate particulars he is at issue with that writer.

We referred in April (p. 568) to an article written by F. Montrouzier, S.J., in the March number of the "Révue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques" on "The Doctrinal Authority of the Syllabus." It belongs to our present purpose to point out that the learned Jesuit refers in a note to the controversy between F. Ryder and Dr. Ward ; and expresses unreserved concurrence with our article of last January on "Doctrinal Apostolic Letters." Any paper which appears in the "Révue" derives increased importance from the high theological character of Abbé Bouix, its editor.

Recent Secessions and Corporate Reunion. Second edition. London : Burns, Oates, & Co.

THIS pamphlet is written in the most Christian tone and spirit ; and it imperatively claims the careful attention of those—the Ritualists—to whom it is addressed. The writer does us the honour (pp. 22–24) of quoting some passages from an article in our last number, "which is written," as he testifies, "in a thoroughly cordial and appreciative tone." We have invariably indeed spoken of the Ritualists with that sympathy and cordiality, which are due to the excellent principles and signal piety so widely prevalent among them.

The notion of "corporate reunion" is a different matter altogether. We have consistently maintained that that notion, advocated by some few Catholics and by the Ritualists in general, implies (in the shape it assumes) an *heretical* tenet ; though of course *Catholics* who talk of corporate reunion do not *advert* to this implication.

The question for an individual Anglican to consider, is simply whether he can remain external to the Roman communion without meriting hell. Is he, or is he not, firmly convinced that God has imposed upon all men a peremptory obligation of entering that communion ? If he is *not* convinced of this, no priest would receive him into the Church. If he *is* convinced of this, he formally merits hell by delaying for one minute his steadfast resolve of submission. And the idea is of course unspeakably absurd that "a large body" (p. 17), or even a small body, "of Catholic-minded men" will at the same precise moment arrive at a firm conviction of God's having imposed this peremptory obligation. The author before us really speaks, as though two

different courses were open at the same time to some given Anglican, either of which he could take without meriting hell ; as though he were at liberty to take into account his view of *expediency*. But such a notion, as we have seen, involves heresy. It involves a denial of the revealed truth, that God has imposed on all men a peremptory obligation of submitting to S. Peter's successor ; and that no man can refuse obedience without meriting hell, unless he labour under invincible ignorance of the precept.

Suppose, for argument's sake (see p. 17), that the fact of some given Anglican submitting to the Church would tend, [not to *diminish*, but to *increase*] general disunion ; still the Divine command of submission is not on that account the less universal or the less indefeasible. The same command woudt be no *less* indefeasible, even though (p. 11) Anglican orders were as indubitably valid as they are indubitably the reverse ; and even though (p. 9) there were every hope that "unity of faith, ritual, and discipline," would be restored within the Establishment. If God commands you to be Roman, unity of Anglican faith, ritual, and discipline can be no extenuation of your sin in remaining Anglican.

Doubtless, under certain circumstances of past times, the Church has once and again promoted the corporate reunion of certain schismatical societies in the East. But we argued in April, 1866 (pp. 496-500), that this fact involves no disparagement whatever of the great Catholic verity on which we have insisted in this notice ; nor gives any sanction whatever to any project of soliciting Anglicans to aim at corporate reunion.

Dogmata Theologica DIONYSII PETAVII, e Soc. Jesu. Editio Nova, &c., curante J. B. FOURNIALS. 8 vols. Paris : L. Vivès. 1865-7.

BOTH publisher and editor have acquitted themselves to perfection, in bringing out this new edition of the immortal work of Petavius. The volumes are of a handy form and bulk, the type is excellent, and the paper admits the free use of the pen. This latter circumstance will be agreeable news to all readers who are engaged in close and extensive study of theology. Such readers constantly require to mark particular passages, to append references, corrections, notes of various kinds. Now, the villainous bibulous paper on which almost all modern French and German editions of theological works are printed renders this impossible. Touch the white margin with only the point of a pen, and the ink spreads and mantles like a dark blush. Such are the copies in the present writer's possession of S. Liguori, Billuart, Carrière, Gury, Maldonatus, and a host of others. From this most provoking blemish not only the present, but also other publications of the same enterprising firm are entirely exempt. The laborious student can ply his annotating nib with as much freedom of hand and delicacy of hair-line on the pages of M. Vivès as on a page of the finest English note-paper.

When we turn from the publisher to the editor we find that the latter has executed his part, if possible, with still greater success. Petavius is

unquestionably one of the brightest theological luminaries of that great society, so rich and radiant in its theological as in its other glories ; and he has found in M. Fournials an editor worthy of him. In the first place, M. Fournials has, after the collation of several editions, given as pure a text as is now attainable ; and so correctly printed that, though we have read a good deal of several of the volumes, we have not been able to discover a single error of the press. Then he has retained all the valuable matter added, in the way of notes and dissertations, by former editors, together with fresh notes of his own, and these always terse and to the point. Petavius was fond of using Greek words and phrases now and then, all which M. Fournials has translated into Latin. He has also given marginal running titles, and marked those passages of the Fathers, few in number, whose authenticity was, in the days of Petavius and before the stupendous labours of the Maurists, not questioned, but which are now considered doubtful or spurious. To crown all, he has given, at the end of the last volume, an index of Scripture texts, and a general index *rerum et verborum*, both wanting in all former editions, and extending in this to over one hundred and sixty pages. In a word, M. Fournials has proved himself a model editor, an accomplished scholar, as well as a profound theologian. What he has done could not have been done better ; and he has done all that was needed to be done. We hear that he is at present engaged in editing a new edition of the works of Cardinal de Lugo, to issue from the same press as the present work, and to resemble it in every respect. We shall look out for it with high anticipations, feeling assured that he will do ample justice as much to the great scholastic and moral as he has done to the great patristic and dogmatic theologian.

Quid est Homo? Sive Controversia de Statu Puræ Naturæ, &c. Auctore
ANT. CASINIO, S.J. Aucta notisque illustrata opera D. M. Jos.
SCHEEBEN, Prof. in Semin. Archiep. Colon. Moguntiae : 1862.

THIS celebrated monograph of Casinius was incorporated by Zaccaria with his edition of the work, just noticed, of Petavius. It had become exceedingly rare in its separate form. Dr. Scheeben has therefore done great service to theological students by republishing it in that form. But he has done far greater, and indeed invaluable, service, by the copious, learned, and admirably reasoned appendixes and notes which he has added from his own pen to the several *articuli* or chapters into which the work is divided. The possibility of a state of pure nature is the fundamental question of all the great controversies on grace.* Dr. Scheeben's introductory dissertation on the scope and reciprocal connection of the propositions of Baius touching this question is the most acute and original we remember to have ever seen on the subject. After demonstrating, against a certain class of writers, that

* See our number for January, 1864, p. 71, and Perrone de Deo Creatore, n. 341, note 1, at the end.

the doctrine itself of Baius was condemned, and not merely the severe judgments which he passed on the doctrines of others, our editor proceeds to show that his propositions are not, as some have held them to be, a mere unconnected and confused mass, but, understood in their true sense and bearing, a perfectly intelligible and harmonious system of most pernicious error.

The book is small and cheap ; and, as our readers can therefore easily procure and peruse it for themselves, we need not give any more detailed account of its contents. It should be in the library of every student, certainly of every professor, of theology. Since writing the above we observe that we had incidentally noticed it in the article referred to. We are glad, however, to have directed attention to it in a more special manner.

The Woman Blessed by all Generations ; or, Mary the Object of Veneration, Confidence, and Imitation to all Christians. By the Rev. RAPHAEL MELIA, D.D. London : Longmans, Green, & Co.

THIE multiplication amongst us of books on the subject of our Blessed Lady is a remarkable and a cheering characteristic of our times ; and, considering the infinite variety of tastes and modes of thought, of powers of mind, of degrees of learning, of prejudices, and the like, we can afford to greet each accession to their number with a very hearty welcome, even if it does not in all respects come up to the standard we should ourselves have desired. Dr. Melia's volume is of an eminently practical character, its special purpose being to set before Protestants the claims of our Blessed Lady to be considered a fitting object of veneration, confidence, and imitation.

The story which he tells in the first page of his introduction gives the key-note of the whole composition, and accounts, we venture to think, both for its merits and its defects. He was standing in some new Catholic church, not yet opened for public service, admiring a figure of our Blessed Lady in the stained glass window, when a Protestant gentleman accosted him on the subject of this portion of Catholic practice, which he dared to stigmatize as idolatrous. Dr. Melia gave the usual explanations in reply, which, however, seemed to have been perfectly new to his interrogator, and at once to have satisfied him. The conversation led to the stranger driving Dr. Melia to his home, being persuaded to make himself thoroughly acquainted with Catholic doctrines as explained by Catholics themselves, and finally becoming a Catholic. If we understand Dr. Melia aright, this little incident first suggested to his mind the idea of writing a book which should give to honest inquirers a true idea of the worship claimed by the Catholic Church for the Mother of God—a book which should bring forward nothing “peculiar to any particular school, and not suited to England or other Protestant countries, but simply the doctrine of the school of Jesus Christ ; what is taught by the Universal Church is common to all Catholic nations, and claims a right to be received by all who desire to be called true Christians.” We do not observe, however, that in the execution of this idea he has yielded

to the temptation, which was certainly incident to the position, of *minimizing* upon so important a subject. He speaks plainly and simply on each point of the subject as it comes before him ; but we should say that the whole tone of the work is ethical rather than logical ; he writes as the parish priest labouring for the salvation of souls, rather than as the scientific theologian, marking out with rule and compass the exact measurements of this field of dogma. The latter part of the volume, about one-third of the whole, is professedly and exclusively of this practical character ; it treats of the several virtues of our Lady—her faith, hope, and charity, prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance, as objects of imitation to all Christians. But even in the first, or theoretical part, which undertakes to prove that the Blessed Virgin has been made by the Holy Trinity an object of veneration and confidence to all generations, it is in moral rather than in argumentative persuasiveness that the strength of the writer lies. He has divided this part of his work into twenty chapters, the most important of which treat of the honour due to her as Mother of God, as ever a virgin, as the subject of many types and prophecies, and the recipient of many graces ; of her Immaculate Conception ; the angelical salutation ; of the testimony of the Holy Ghost by the mouth of S. Elizabeth, and of her own Divine Son—first by the thirty years' obedience, next by the beginning of miracles at Cana, and lastly by the words from the cross. On each of these subjects he adduces first Catholic and then Protestant evidence, the latter being chiefly confined to Pearson, Bull, and Hicks, with occasional quotations from Luther and Calvin and Thomas Scott, and very copious references to Mrs. Jameson. The Catholic evidence is subdivided into evidence from Holy Scripture, from the early Fathers of the Church (the first six centuries), and from Christian archæology. We cannot but consider this subdivision singularly unfortunate as far as regards the last member of it. No doubt Christian archæology can be made to render most important testimony to Catholic devotion to our Blessed Lady, and the writer who shall take this subject in hand—for it has yet to be done—and treat it competently, will deserve well of all lovers of art and of truth. But it is to tax this *τεπως* far beyond its powers to force it to bear evidence upon every one of nineteen or twenty propositions, amongst which are such as these :—Mary is to be venerated for having been announced beforehand as a creature most privileged and beneficial to mankind ; also on account of her Immaculate Conception ; also as having freely and efficaciously co-operated in the spiritual welfare of mankind ; also on account of the gratuitous graces conferred upon her ; as also of the sanctifying grace, &c. &c. Such an appeal can only result in disappointment, and is, moreover, calculated to create a general feeling of mistrust towards the whole branch of evidence which is thus abused. In the present instance this feeling is considerably increased by the manner in which the illustrations have been executed by the *Graphotyping* Company—a new company, so far as our knowledge in such matters extends, and, we presume, using some new process, but which we cannot felicitate on this specimen of its achievements. Several of the illustrations are real caricatures of the originals, with which we are well acquainted, and others seem to have no character at all. Moreover, in the interest of Christian art and the science

of its symbolism, we must protest against the "shut scroll" in the hands of Mary—which appears also, we need hardly say, in the hands of S. Paul and others—being made to indicate her perpetual virginity, and some other strained interpretations of the same kind. We must confess, too, to our entire incredulity as to "images of Mary under the symbol of the good shepherdess being repeated four times in various places of the Roman Catacombs." [By the way, are we really to receive that frightful word *hypogées* into our language, to denote the chambers of that subterranean necropolis ? We believe that Mr. Hemans was the first to use it, in his "History of Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy." Mr. Marriott has adopted it in his "Vestiarium Christianum," and now Dr. Melia.] Above all, we are simply amazed to find a learned Italian in these days repeating the old exploded story as to the origin of these Catacombs, that "the greater part of them are the work of the Roman pagans, made in excavating the earth in order to obtain sand for building purposes." Altogether, the treatment of Christian archaeology seems to us the weakest part of the volume, and a real blemish, whilst the first part of each section of "Catholic Evidence" seems to us no less undoubtedly the best. It is called the evidence from Holy Scripture ; but it does not consist merely, or even principally, of a collection of texts ; rather, it is an enunciation of the Catholic doctrine on that branch of the subject which is to be handled in that particular chapter ; and this is often placed in a very clear and persuasive light, calculated to arrest the attention and clear away the prejudices of moderately candid Protestants. We would specify particularly the chapters on the Immaculate Conception and on Mary's efficacious co-operation in the welfare of mankind. Even in these sections, however, there are statements which will hardly command that universal authority which in his Preface he seems to claim for them. Nay, we venture to say that Dr. Melia himself hardly always means what his words imply, e. g., in page 157, speaking of personal beauty as one of the gratuitous graces bestowed on our Blessed Lady, "It is a truth of faith that Jesus Christ, in accordance with the prediction of the Royal Prophet, was the most beautiful among men." (Ps. xliv. 3.) Neither can we ourselves agree with him in some other of his interpretations of Scripture, as where he insists on a distinction being drawn between *image* and *likeness* (Gen. i. 26), and makes the distinction to consist in this, that "the image is in the nature while the likeness is in the perfection of the same nature. The image relates to the essential qualities of the spirit ; the likeness to a greater or less degree of excellence in the same qualities of the spirit." We are well aware that authority can be found among the writings of the Fathers and of theologians, if not precisely for this distinction, yet for something not very unlike it ; as, for instance, that the *image* denotes the resemblance of our rational nature to God, and *likeness* the higher resemblance given by sanctifying grace. S. Austin, however, among the Fathers, Estius, Suarez, and Petavius among theologians, altogether abandon the idea of any distinction ; and Holy Scripture itself seems to afford every possible kind of proof of the perfect synonymousness of the words. Thus, *image* is used alone, Genesis i. 27, ix. 6, Ecclesius. xvii. 1 ; whilst, on the other hand, *likeness* is used alone Gen. v. 1, S. James iii. 9. Either word, then, would seem to be adequate

to the whole meaning. Again, both are used together, Gen. v. 3, with reference to Adam begetting Seth, where there can be no question of imparting a likeness of holiness, and in Wisdom ii. 23, where it reads like a common Hebrew reduplication. Finally, S. Paul (Col. iii. 9, 10) uses *image* precisely in the sense attempted to be attached to *likeness*.

La Roma Sotterranea Cristiana. Descritta ed illustrata dal Cav. G. B. DE ROSSI. Pubblicata per ordine della Santita di N. S. Papa Pio Nono. Tomo II. Roma, Cromolitografia Pontificia.

DEAN STANLEY has lately taken credit to the present generation above all its predecessors, for having most keenly and deeply entered into the pleasure and the duty of examining below the surface of things, and investigating them to the bottom. He considers that the duty and advantage of thus "going down till we reach the rock, and sinking till we reach the native spring in the well," has never been so fully grasped as in this century; and that not only in other branches of knowledge, but also (or, he might perhaps have said, especially) in all matters connected with sacred history and religion. At any rate, this is certainly the merit in a pre-eminent degree of the learned and indefatigable antiquarian to whom we are indebted for this splendid volume on *Roma Sotterranea*. All his talents and energy—and among archaeologists it would be hard to find any one his equal in either of these gifts—have been spent for the last thirty years in doing both for the history and for the actual soil of the Roman Catacombs what has been done, or is still doing, by other labourers for the soil of Pompeii and Herculaneum, the Forum of Rome, the mounds of Nineveh, and the tombs of Egypt. And that his labours have not been without fruit, the following brief summary of the historical portion of this second volume of his great work will sufficiently prove. We must needs confine our summary within the narrowest possible compass; but we can assure our readers that they will find *pièces justificatives* in abundance in the volume before us, and that those who examine them the most closely will be the last to call in question their argumentative value.

The cemetery of S. Callixtus lies under a vineyard, on the right-hand side of the Via Appia, rather more than a mile beyond the present gate of S. Sebastian's. It was not always called by this name, nor indeed was it always one. The Liber Pontificalis, Martyrologies, Acts of the Saints, and other ancient documents speak of the cemetery of Lucina, near the cemetery of Callixtus, and of the cemetery of Soter or Soteris, and of the *arenarium* of Hippolytus in the same vicinity; but these, and perhaps others also, have long since been united, and the whole now forms one vast labyrinth of subterranean graves and chapels, full of most interesting monuments of the early Christian Church. The map of this cemetery, published in De Rossi's first volume, executed with mathematical accuracy, and representing all the various paths crossing and recrossing one another, in the four or five stories (so to call them) of the excavation, is a bewildering sight; and a student needs to have

good eyes, a clear head, and indomitable perseverance to trace upon it the boundaries of the several parts, as they were originally formed, and to distinguish the plan of each. In this second volume the author has had compassion on our weakness, and marked out the several areas in various colours, so that each can be as distinctly recognized as the plots of some allotment-ground at the entrance of our small towns, where the different crops often denote as many different tenants. With this material help we recognize at once the gradual growth of the cemetery, and cannot doubt that it originally consisted of several small and independent cemeteries, executed with great regularity, within carefully prescribed limits. Of these the most ancient is that which was once called the cemetery of Lucina, consisting of a parallelogram measuring 100 Roman feet on the side towards the Appian road [*in fronte*], by 180 in depth [*in agro*] ; and over it are the remains of a huge monument, which, if it was not originally Christian, yet certainly was at the free disposal of those who were Christians from the very earliest ages, since the grand open staircase which once led to the catacomb was made immediately in front of it, and the paths of the subterranean excavation pass freely beneath it. It was in this part of the cemetery that Pope Cornelius was buried, but it had been begun long before that date, probably even in the apostolic age ; unquestionably it was in use in the earliest period of the second century. It belonged at that time to a well-known Roman family, of whom we will speak presently. Different members of this family, and of other branches of the Roman aristocracy connected with them by blood or marriage, were buried here during the reigns of Trajan, Adrian, and Antoninus Pius. About the time of Marcus Aurelius, in the second half of the second century, another plot of ground at no great distance, on a road which joined the Appian and Ardeatine Ways, was given up by the same family for the same purpose. Here, also, two grand and open staircases, without any attempt at concealment, led down to the catacomb ; but there is no proof that the superficial area—whose measurement, by the bye, was 250 feet by 100—was ever occupied by any monument. In this cemetery S. Cecilia was buried, having suffered martyrdom about this very time, and being herself a member of the family to whom the cemetery belonged. Her husband, Valerian, and his brother, were not buried here, but on the other side of the road, in the cemetery of Pretextatus ; but, as we find a Pretextatus buried in this catacomb of S. Callixtus, just before the tomb of S. Cecilia, there was probably some connection between the families to whom these two cemeteries belonged, so that deceased members of both families were buried in either indifferently. The catacomb continued to be used under Aurelius and Commodus, and till the end of the second century, but, probably, always as the private property of some individual or family. At this time a most important change took place in the legal tenure of Christian cemeteries, and of this one in particular. It is during the Pontificate of S. Zephyrinus, who succeeded to the chair of Peter A.D. 198, that we hear for the first time, both in Rome and in Africa, of public cemeteries belonging to the whole body of Christians as a known and recognized corporation. And this is easily accounted for by the edict promulgated by Septimius Severus at this time, whereby he re-established or confirmed the ancient privilege of clubs or

confraternities, formed for the purpose of meeting the expenses of funerals. Under the protection of this law, Pope Zephyrinus appointed his deacon, Callixtus, over this cemetery, which must now at least, if not at an earlier period, have been given over to the Church ; and he prepared a chamber, immediately adjoining that in which lay the body of S. Cecilia, as a burial-place for the Popes, who had heretofore always been buried close to the body of S. Peter on the Vatican. Here, then, Zephyrinus himself was buried, and all his successors, until the triumph of the Church under Constantine, excepting when special circumstances interfered to prevent it. Such a special circumstance was the martyrdom of S. Callixtus, not by any legal sentence, but by popular violence, being thrown out of a window into a well before his own house in Trastevere, whence his body was hastily removed to the nearest cemetery on that side of Rome, S. Calepodio, on the Via Aurelia. Another Pope, S. Pontianus, resigned his Pontificate, when he was driven into exile, and was succeeded by S. Anteros, who suffered martyrdom, however, before his predecessor had died. S. Pontianus died not very long afterwards, and of course was buried in Sardinia, the place of his exile ; but when peace was restored to the Church, S. Fabian obtained leave from the government to bring back the body, and to bury it in the official resting-place of all the Popes. [His grave, therefore, would have been next after that of Anteros, though he had been Pope before him ; and hence the confusion in some old records as to the order of succession of these two Pontiffs.]

During the long and generally peaceful episcopate of Fabian the Christian religion made rapid progress, and of course there was a necessity for a corresponding development of the cemeteries. A third plot of ground, therefore, lying between the two already in use, and immediately adjoining the later one, was now given, probably by the same family as before. Fabian assigned the care of all the cemeteries to the seven deacons ; he also erected small churches over several of them, and the remains of one of these, with its three apses, may still be seen in this very place. A little later, just in the middle of the third century, a fourth area, adjoining the two last, was given, probably by Anatolia, daughter of Æmilianus, who had died in his year of consulship, A.D. 249, leaving his daughter as a ward under the care of Calocerus and Parthenius. But in the month of January in the following year Fabian suffered martyrdom, and a few months later Calocerus and Parthenius also. Fabian was buried among the Popes, and Calocerus and Parthenius in a crypt belonging to this fourth area of the cemetery. Cornelius, Fabian's successor, was not buried in the Papal chapel, but, as we have already seen, in the neighbouring cemetery of Lucina, which was originally, and still remained, distinct from that of Callixtus. We believe the reason of this distinction is to be found in some degree of relationship between Cornelius and Lucina. Lucius, his successor, died early in March, 253, but, for some reason unknown, was not buried in his proper resting-place (where we may still see his grave-stone) until the 25th of August. It may be that during the last persecution access to the cemeteries had been forbidden ; but of this we have no record. The first certain information that we have of any legal interference with the Christian cemeteries belongs to the reign of Valerian, and the year 257 or 258 ; and it was disregard of this imperial prohibition which led to the mar-

tyrdom of Pope Sixtus II.; probably, also, of his predecessor, S. Stephen, and of that noble acolyte, S. Tharsycius, who gave up his life rather than expose to the profane gaze of the heathen the Blessed Sacrament which he was carrying. Notwithstanding the prohibition, however, S. Sixtus was buried in the Papal vault, and the Pontifical chair, sprinkled with his blood, was carefully placed in the same chapel near his tomb. Perhaps the edict of Valerian was not intended to interfere with burial, but only with the holding of religious assemblies, in the catacombs, so that the burial of Sixtus may have been quite public; as the burial of S. Cyprian in Africa about this time certainly was, although the same prohibition had been duly proclaimed there; or perhaps it was effected privately by means of secret passages, which seem to have been made through the adjacent *arenarium* some time before. By and bye Gallienus revoked his father's prohibition, and the Popes Dionysius, Felix, Eutychianus, and Caius, each in succession, is laid to rest by the side of his saintly predecessors. Meanwhile, the cemetery of Callixtus had been greatly enlarged, always within the limits of the four areas already described, until at the close of the century it was incorporated with the adjoining cemetery of S. Soteris—a cemetery of whose history we cannot now speak, but which had been executed on a scale of great magnificence, and evidently in times of peace and security, so frequent are the *luminaria* and *arcisolia*, and double, treble, and even quadruple *cubicula*. We are able to fix the date of this incorporation with certainty, because precisely at the point of junction Severus, a deacon, made a double *cubiculum* for himself and his relatives, by the permission (*jussu*) of Pope Marcellinus, whose reign only lasted from 295 to 304. Before his death broke out the last and fiercest persecution of all, that by the Emperor Diocletian, during which the Christians destroyed the staircase leading down to the tomb of S. Cecilia and the Papal vault, and even filled up with earth the whole of that area of the cemetery, and from the third area they removed the bodies of S. Calocerus and Parthenius. Marcellinus himself, and his successor Marcellus, were both buried in the distant cemetery of Priscilla, which, owing to some local advantage which we cannot now appreciate, must have remained more easily accessible and secure. The next Pope, Eusebius, died in exile, but his corpse was brought from Sicily by his successor, and placed in a chapel very near to that in which S. Calocerus and Parthenius had originally been laid. This chapel had served in times of persecution as a place of meeting for the celebration of the Divine Mysteries, and was now richly ornamented with mosaics to prepare it as a burial-place of the martyr Pope. Probably their official burial-place had not yet been reopened, though Miltiades had certainly recovered legal possession of it, having sent his deacons as his representatives to the pagan government in the negotiations for this purpose. Miltiades himself found a similar burial-place to that which he had provided for his predecessor; and with his name closes the roll of Pontiffs who lived in the period of the pagan persecutions. And now began a new era in the history of the cemetery of S. Callixtus. Pilgrims flocked to visit the places consecrated by the remains of so many holy confessors and martyrs; and even hermits came and fixed their cells in the immediate neighbourhood. Pope Damasus enlarged the entrances, made new staircases, sometimes also

extensive alterations in the interior, to facilitate admission to the crypts of greatest interest, at the same time adorning them with marbles and other ornaments, and setting up metrical inscriptions, composed by himself, and beautifully engraved by one Furius Dionysius Filocalus, an artist who devoted himself to the work with great zeal, and appropriated to these monuments a particular form of letters, whereby they can be easily identified. S. Sixtus III. imitated S. Damasus in some of his subterranean labours. He set up an inscription in the *cripta papale*, enumerating all the bishops who lay buried there ; and painted on the sides of the *luminare* over St. Cecilia's chapel the portraits of Optatus, Bishop of Vesceter, and other saints, whose bodies had lately been translated from Africa to secure them from the outrages of the Vandals. But not even the catacombs of Rome itself were to remain for ever free from similar devastations. Barbarians came, and, penetrating into these sanctuaries, destroyed some of the inscriptions of Damasus, and plundered some of the graves. Thus, the epitaph which had been provided by Damasus for the tomb of S. Eusebius was destroyed, and only very imperfectly restored at a subsequent period ; probably also that which was at the tomb of S. Tharsicius. By and bye, in the eighth century, the Lombards came and put the finishing stroke to the work of ruin, so that the Popes now resolved to translate the martyrs' relics to churches within the city. In vain did Leo III. and Adrian attempt to restore the catacombs themselves ; in 817 nobody could find the tomb even of so famous a saint as S. Cecilia ; and when four years later this discovery was made, and her body translated, the last page of the *fasti* of the cemetery was closed for many centuries. Some inscriptions and paintings were indeed executed on the spot, with a view to preserving the memory of the translation ; but then all was abandoned ; the very name of the cemetery became confounded with that of Pretextatus, and all its religious and historical associations falsely attributed to S. Sebastian's.

The rehabilitation (so to speak) of this cemetery in all its rights has been the work of De Rossi, and forms the chief subject of the two magnificent volumes which he has already published of his "Roma Sotteranea." We have given a brief summary of his historical conclusions ; to attempt a similar abridgment of his arguments would be both unfair to the author, and an equally ungrateful task to writer and reader ; for, however carefully the task might be done, there would remain the same difference between the summary and the original as between a flower pressed and dried in the pages of a herbarium and the same flower as it stood in its native bloom and beauty in the garden or the conservatory. Our present limits will only allow us briefly to redeem the promise we gave in the beginning, by saying a few words about the noble family who first began this magnificent cemetery of S. Callixtus ; but these few words will give us a fair sample both of De Rossi's learning, diligence, and modesty—three qualities which promise to make his work one of the most valuable additions to ecclesiastical literature that have been made for a very long time.

First, then, we learn from Cicero that the monuments of the Cæciliæ Metelli, and of some other noble families of Rome, were outside the Porta Capena on the Appian Road. *Columbaria* and inscriptions belonging to

other pagan monuments of the Cæciliæ were found towards the beginning of this century at no great distance from the catacomb whose history we have been describing. It cannot, then, be considered a fortuitous circumstance that in the chambers and galleries of this same catacomb there have come to light epitaphs and other memorials of several Cæciliæ and Cæciliani, and these not mere freedmen who had adopted the name of the *gens*, but real members of the family, as is distinctly marked by the official adjuncts to their names, *vir clarissimus, clarissima fæmina or puella, honesta femina, &c.* We note also among the "illustrious dead" who lie in this aristocratic cemetery certain descendants of the Antonines, who were clearly connected with Annia Faustina, the grand-daughter of Marcus Aurelius, and the wife of Pomponius Bassus, and afterwards of Heliogabalus. Now, it is known that these Pomponii Bassi, towards the end of the first century, lived on the Quirinal; and it can be almost proved that they inherited the house of the celebrated Atticus, the friend and correspondent of Cicero; and every classical scholar knows of this Atticus that he certainly lived on the Quirinal, and that he passed from the Gens Pomponia to the Gens Cæcilia, when he was adopted by his maternal uncle, Q. Cæcilius. Hence it is easy to account for the number of Christian epitaphs which have been found here, exhibiting these names mixed in various ways, e.g., more than one Cæcilius Faustus, a Faustinus Atticus, an Atticianus, a Pompeia Attica, an Attica Cæciliana, &c. We have the gravestones also of some heathen members of the same family, sawn in two or otherwise defaced, and used to close some of the Christian graves. One of these was of a Pomponius Bassus, who had lived in the third century, and had filled some of the highest offices of the state, been twice consul, prefect of Rome, &c., and another of L. Pomponius, proconsul of Gallia Narbonensis.

We come now to the application of all this apparently dry genealogical lore. It has been shown that the monuments of the Pomponii Bassi helped to supply marbles for a cemetery which was originally of the Cæciliæ, and where Attici, and Atticæ, and Atticiæ were frequently buried. From the union of all these names on the same spot, and under these circumstances, De Rossi ventured to conjecture that the Cæciliæ to whom this property belonged, and who were certainly Christian, must have been intimately connected with the Pomponii, Attici, and Bassi. Now, it so happens that the first lady of rank of whose conversion to Christianity profane history has preserved any record belonged precisely to this very Gens Pomponia—we mean, of course, Pomponia Grecina, the wife of Plautius, who conquered Britain under Claudius. In the year 58 this lady was accused of having embraced the rites of a foreign superstition. Her husband, in accordance with ancient usage, sat in judgment upon her in the presence of a number of her relations, and pronounced her innocent, after which she lived to a great age, though, as Tacitus adds, "in continual sadness." He tells us that for forty years she never laid aside the mourning she had assumed on the murder of her relative Julia, but continued always in sorrow; that nobody, however, interfered with her in this matter, and that in the end it was considered the glory of her character (*mox in gloriam vertit. Annales xiii. 32*). It has been generally agreed amongst commentators that the foreign superstition here

spoken of was in reality the Christian faith, which was always so called by pagan writers ; and it was very tempting therefore for De Rossi to hazard a conjecture that this lady might possibly be the same as we meet with about this time in ecclesiastical records under the name of Lucina. We need not say how frequently this name of Lucina occurs in ancient ecclesiastical history ; it crops up in the history of every persecution from the apostolic age to the days of Constantine, and has been the occasion of no slight confusion, and the subject of many learned discussions, among students of hagiography. De Rossi suggests that the name was a Christian *sobriquet* (alluding to the illumination of Baptism, &c.) rather than a real family name, and that it may have been borne by many Roman matrons in succession without any real connection of relationship between them, these ladies being of course known in society and among their heathen kinsfolk by their proper family names. When first he threw out the idea of Pomponia Grecina and the first Lucina having been possibly one and the same person, he spoke with extreme caution and reserve. "It is a mere guess," he said (vol. i. p. 319) ; "I don't wish to claim for it any value as an argument, perhaps it hardly even deserves the name of a conjecture. But attempts of this kind, violent efforts of the mind, which arouses itself at the faintest glimmer of light amid the thick darkness of antiquity, and seeks to rush forward to the acquisition of new truth, may at least serve to awaken attention, and to keep it keenly on the alert for every scrap of additional information which future discoveries may bring to light, and out of which prudent study may extract the full knowledge of historical facts, now only guessed at and offered *in confuso*." De Rossi wrote thus in his first volume, in 1864. In the middle of the present volume (page 282), written probably six or eight months ago, having occasion to refer to the same subject, he says that "although his guess has been very favourably received by the learned, yet it must not be taken for more than it is worth, until new and more important monumental discoveries shall place it on a more solid foundation." At the end of the volume he is able to explain what was the monumental evidence he desired, and to announce that he had found it. He had no positive evidence either of the relationship between the Pomponii Bassi and the Pomponii Grecini, or that the profession of Christianity had prevailed in either family. He now publishes inscriptions, or at least sufficient fragments of inscriptions, found in this cemetery, and belonging to the end of the second century, two of which testify to the Christian burial here of Pomponii Bassi, and one of a Pomponius Grecinus. Of course it is easy to see that even now the argument has not the force of demonstration ; but it is impossible to deny that it has a great deal of probability in its favour, and impossible not to admire the learning and ingenuity by which it has been supported. On a future occasion we hope to take some branch or branches of the large subject so ably handled by De Rossi, and to treat it more at length, in a way more worthy of its importance. At present we must be content with this short synthetical statement of the history which he conceives himself to have established by his own analytical method.

The Life of Las Casas, "the Apostle of the Indies." By ARTHUR HELPS,
Author of "The Spanish Conquest of America," "Friends in Council,"
&c. London : Bell & Daldy.

THIS is in many respects a very remarkable and unusual work, both as regards its subject and its execution. It is the life of a man, in the truest and highest sense of the words, very pre-eminently good and great, of one who received unusual natural gifts, who cultivated them with great industry, and devoted to God all he had and all he was, with a singleness of eye very seldom attained even by sincere Christians. To these things must be added two circumstances which, if accident had any place in God's world, must be called accidental. First, his lot was cast at one of the most important and critical periods in the history of the human race, and in a nation which at that moment held the first and most influential place in the world. He himself was thrown too by circumstances into that part of the world where the most momentous events were going on, and thus a great work was, as it were, set before him by the circumstances of his position. Next, his life was prolonged in full vigour to the age of ninety-two ; and thus he was able to exert a very important influence twice as long as other men. Of these circumstances Bartholomew Las Casas availed himself to the very utmost. He early devoted himself to a cause, the noblest that man could undertake,—the preservation of populous nations of heathen who, but for him, would assuredly have been exterminated by his countrymen ; and their conversion to the Christian faith. To that work he sacrificed everything ; wealth, ease, leisure, the goodwill of his countrymen, the peace of his whole life : all, except his God and his own soul. He laboured with a perseverance which was not unnatural, only because it was supernatural. He suffered dreadful disappointments and reverses, but by them he was only nerved to new exertions. Finally, although his success was far from what he wished and from what it might well have been (considering the justice and wisdom of the cause, and his persevering labours in it), still he did succeed. There are at this day many nations of native American Christians which must have been extinct centuries ago, if the practices and institutions which his life was spent in opposing, and over which in the end he prevailed, had gone on unchecked. Moreover, there were nations which he was himself, directly, the means of converting. Here was success ten-fold greater than man usually attains. But, after all, in estimating the work of a Christian, that is, work done for Christ, we should greatly err if we took visible success as in any degree our measure.

"God does not need
Either men's services or His own gifts."

For our sakes He has made our services the means of effecting His own purposes ; and those who serve Him with most fidelity, self-devotion, and love, not those who most see the fruits of their labours, are His most

honoured servants. And among that blessed band (so far as man may presume to judge), a high place will surely be assigned to Bartholomew Las Casas.

It might well have been expected that all that could be said about the life of so great and good a man would long ago have been said, and that nothing would be left to Mr. Helps except to abridge or compile an interesting narrative from the works of former biographers. His singular felicity as a biographer is that the very contrary to this is the fact. It is only of late years that the original records of Spanish history have been thrown open to literary men. A very great part of Mr. Helps' materials and authorities exist only in manuscript, and a large part of what has been printed is to be found only in rare books, almost as little known as manuscripts. A very large part of the voluminous works of Las Casas himself have never been printed. Thus the subject of this volume was not only noble and attractive, but in a very great degree unexplored.

And the execution is in all respects worthy of the subject. We have been utterly amazed at the labour which Mr. Helps must have given throughout—labour both bodily and mental, in discovering, collecting, studying, and arranging his materials. This is no doubt an honourable distinction of the historical writers of our own day, especially when compared with those of the eighteenth century. But in one most important quality Mr. Helps seems to us quite without a rival; we mean in historical justice, fairness, and candour. Macaulay places Hallam before all other historians in impartiality. In this quality Mr. Helps seems to us very far to surpass Hallam himself. We know no writer who approaches him in his power of placing himself exactly in the position of the persons of whom he writes, and looking at men and things from their point of view; still less, any writer who takes the same care in exercising the power. He says in one place, "A fearful consideration it is, that biographers, and the people they write about, may some day be brought into each other's presence;" and we know no writer who seems to have that consideration so perpetually before his mind. It is not merely that he can see no fault in Las Casas; that would be common enough in a biographer; but he manages to look at every act, even of bad men, whose whole course is most shocking and repulsive to him, as they saw it, and gives the fullest force to every excuse which they could have alleged even for the actions which he most strongly and justly condemns. If any other writer ever did this in the same degree, we are not acquainted with him. But this wonderful impartiality is in nowise connected with indifference. Here the contrast with Mr. Hallam is strong. Hallam always gives us the idea of a man by nature incapable of very greatly admiring anything. He is "less of a worshipper than any historian whom we can call to mind," says Macaulay, who admits that though he might "prize his work less" were it otherwise, he would "like it more." This is what every reader of Hallam must, we think, have felt. Mr. Helps, on the other hand, is as hearty and warm both in admiration and in censure, as if he were a partisan; and beyond a doubt this, when combined with perfect fairness and justice, is the true historical temper. For, to have no glowing admiration for that which is justly admirable, and no indignation at

that which is base, cruel, or dishonourable, is to be wanting in substantial justice.

Las Casas was born eighteen years before the discovery of America by Columbus ; that year he took his degree of licentiate in the university of Salamanca. His father was one of the companions of Columbus in his first voyage, and six years later both father and son went with him again. Four years afterwards he again went to Hayti (then called Hispaniola), and was the first person ordained priest in the New World. In his earlier years he was chiefly distinguished as a man of business, and was likely enough to have made a fortune, if his conscience had not compelled him to protest against the enslaving of the Indians. In order to do this with effect, he gave up his own plantations ; and, for many years afterwards, was chiefly employed in urging plans for their benefit. These Mr. Helps traces in detail. When he was eight-and-forty he became a Dominican in Hayti. Mr. Helps believes this step to have been hasty ; urged, partly by a cruel disappointment in one of his main schemes ; partly by the persuasion of his friends in the Dominican community at S. Domingo, where he was most kindly received at a moment of keen sorrow. It is impossible fully to test this opinion, as we have no access to the documents by which it would be confirmed or disproved. And, in fairness, it should be said that the historical justice of Mr. Helps is perhaps more shown in his grand appreciation of Catholics, and especially Catholic ecclesiastics, than in any one other thing. In this, we have never met any Protestant writer to be compared to him. We say, therefore, without the least distrust of his fully intending to give a fair account of the matter, that not having seen the documents on which he rests his judgment, we cannot but think he may be mistaken in his view of the means by which Las Casas became a Dominican. The thing is so vastly improbable, whether we consider his own character or the known character of the men with whom he had to do, that we feel sure Mr. Helps must (most unintentionally) have misapprehended and misrepresented the matter. The only words he alleges clearly do not prove the point. They are, that when he proposed to await the answers of the King and Cardinal Adrian (to whom he had written), his friends said, "What will it profit you, if you should die before their answers come ?" This would of course be their answer, if what he had already told them had convinced them that he had a real vocation, and was himself aware that he had, but was tempted to delay in following it. Mr. Helps gives us no reason to suppose that such was not the case. And we need not say how easily a Protestant writer might overlook the distinction between urging a man not to neglect what he felt to be a vocation, and urging him to join their own order. Las Casas himself, with his way of thinking, would never see the necessity of guarding against a misapprehension which he would not suppose any one likely to fall into.

The great glory of Las Casas was his unwearied, unwearable energy ; his perseverance in spite of all disappointments ; and we should therefore be greatly grieved if we really believed that the most important step of his whole life was taken in a mere moment of disappointment and weakness. A notice like this can, of course, give no idea of this perseverance, which comes out when we survey his life as a whole. We must refer our readers to the

volume itself, which will richly repay them. What is important, is to observe that Las Casas was no mere philanthropist. That character is, perhaps, the noblest in the mere natural order; but it is, after all, in the natural order that it is conversant. The love of his neighbour in Las Casas was deeply rooted in the love of his incarnate Lord. This appears, in little hints, through the whole history, although the thing we most desiderate in it is a fuller account of him as a Catholic, a priest, and a religious,—in a word, what Père Chocharne calls (in the case of Lacordaire) his *vie intime*. It is easy to see why we have so little of this. It is because our knowledge of what went on in America in those days, and of the characters of the agents, including Las Casas himself, is chiefly derived from his own writings ; and no man was less likely than he to make any display of his own religious life. This gives a special value to a scene between himself and a certain licentiate Aguirre, "a very good man, of great authority in those days, whom Queen Isabella had chosen for one of her executors." Aguirre was shocked at a plan which Las Casas was pressing forward, by which he tried to combine the preservation and conversion of the natives with the gain of the king, the courtiers, and others. He said :—

"That such a manner of preaching the Gospel had scandalized him, for it evinced an aiming after temporal interests which he had never hitherto suspected in the clergio."

"Las Casas having heard what Aguirre had said, took occasion to speak to him one day in the following terms :—'Senor, if you were to see our Lord Jesus Christ maltreated, vituperated, and afflicted, would you not implore, with all your might, that those who had Him in their power would give Him to you, that you might serve and worship Him?' 'Yes,' said Aguirre. 'Then,' replied Las Casas, 'if they would not give Him to you, but would sell Him, would you redeem Him?' 'Without a doubt.' 'Well, then, Senor,' rejoined Las Casas, 'that is what I have done ; for I have left in the Indies Jesus Christ our Lord, suffering stripes and afflictions and crucifixion, not once, but thousands of times, at the hands of the Spaniards, who destroy and desolate these Indian nations, taking from them the opportunity of conversion and penitence, so that they die without faith and without sacraments.'

"Then Las Casas went on to explain how he had sought to remedy these things in the way that Aguirre would most have approved. To this the answer had been, that the king would have no rents. Wherefore, when he, Las Casas, saw that his opponents would sell him the Gospel, he had offered those temporal inducements which Aguirre had heard of and disapproved.

"The Licentiate considered this a sufficient answer, and so I think would any reasonable man."

Our space forbids us to give other extracts of great interest, and we will conclude with calling the reader's attention to the conversion of a numerous and warlike nation in Guatemala, whom the Spaniards had no less than three times attacked, and had every time come away "with their hands up to their heads." Their land became "a phantom of terror" to the Spaniards, and went by the name of "the land of war." Las Casas and his brethren for he was then a Dominican undertook to convert and pacificate

the country. It was no easy task, for, being Spaniards, it was absolutely closed against them. But the Friars had, with great labour, learned the language. They composed in it a long poem, in which they stated the chief facts as to the creation, fall, misery, redemption, and resurrection of man. This they taught to some native merchants who had access to "the land of war," and who sung the poem (which the Dominicans had set to music) at the native fairs and feasts. The attention of the people and their king being thus raised, they were induced to send for the Dominicans, by whom they were converted to Christianity. This event seems to have led to the Brief of Paul III., in which, forbidding the enslavement of the Indians, he declared them "veritable men, not only capable of receiving the Christian faith, but, as we have learned, most ready to embrace that faith." For the particulars, which are very curious, we must refer to Chapters IX. and X. of the work before us.

We are glad to add that Mr. Helps entirely clears Las Casas of the charge vulgarly urged against him, of having been the author of the negro slave-trade.

Lough Corrib, its Shores and Islands: with notices of Lough Mask. By Sir WILLIAM R. WILDE, M.D., etc. etc. Dublin : McGlashan & Gill. London : Longmans, Greene, & Co. 1867.

STRIKING, indeed, are the views of Loch Corrib, whether on the lower lake, with its dreary islet rocks tenanted by the dusky cormorant and the ghostly form of the stalking heron, or on the upper division opening out from the mountain groups of Iar-Connaught and Joyce-country, and circling a hundred islands yellow with the cornfield or purple with the heath and the daboecia. But many who have admired the natural beauties of the great lake are little aware of the high interest attached to the ruins along its shores ; and it may be safely said that nowhere else in the three kingdoms are there to be found so many clustering relics of different races and widely-separated periods of man's history—the Norman keep, and the abbey of equal age, whose ancient splendours, even after the hands of the despoiler and the winds and rains of centuries, are still indicated by the roofless walls—the older cahir and clochan, with the crumpled holly-bush and dwarfed hazel issuing from between the huge lichen-covered stones—the moated rath showing the simpler defences of a people probably more ancient than either Norman or Celt—and of tribes more primitive still, whose chief dwellings were the lacustrine crannoges, there are also very suggestive remains.*

The ordinary tourist, as he traverses Loch Corrib, may well rest satisfied with all that he can see from the steamer's deck ; but there are not a few who would find it an invaluable addition to the pleasures of their trip if

* We believe there can be little doubt of this high antiquity of the crannoges, although some of them were used as places of refuge so late as the seventeenth century.

they knew of the archeological treasures contained in the islands, and within a narrow district of the adjacent mainland. Until now the remains were little understood. With the exception of a few of the most prominent castles and abbeys, they were, indeed, hardly noticed ; and scarce even the locality of many an important relic of the remote past was marked by other than the wandering herdsman. It is so no longer ; and in Sir W. Wilde's book all those objects of antiquity, from crannoge to castle, from the Druid's circle to the hermit's cell, are treated of in a style at once learned and picturesque.

But the antiquities do not form the sole theme of the author. The scenery, the physical geography, and the geology receive a share of his attention ; but we may remark that many readers would be glad to have a more detailed description of the geology, as well as some account of the botany, both of which possess peculiar interest in the district around lochs Mask and Corrib.

We wish we could share the author's confidence in the manuscript describing the great battle of Moytura. It appears, indeed, that its story was known so far back as the ninth century—an antiquity, however, that is of little account in relation to a period confessedly fifteen hundred years anterior, to which are assigned the events described. Nor do we think that the general style of the narrative is conducive to much reliance on its truth. If not a fable, we can only say that a great decisive battle between the invading tribe of the Danaans and the Firbolgs must have been a much more civilized and cold-blooded affair than we at the present day could regard as probable. On every evening of a four days' contest the opposing hosts not only buried their dead in peace and quietness, but raised elaborate monuments to their fall. Neither is the description of the fighting very suggestive of genuineness. What must one think of the account of this monster conflict between the collected forces of two nations, when we read that "the four sons of Gan charged down the Danaan lines, but they also were killed by Gobnen, the smith ; Lucyry, the carpenter ; Dianceacth, the surgeon," &c.? However, if we admit the MS. to be true, we must needs confess that Sir William Wilde has fixed the most probable site of the contest, and we cannot but admire the ingenuity and perseverance with which he has traced the agreement between the description and the locality.

But here is an episode of history about which, alas ! we can have little doubt. Speaking of the abbey of Cong, Sir William Wilde says (p. 166) :—

"We find it the peaceful sanctuary of the last monarch of Ireland during the ruthless times which followed the English invasion, when the O'Conors and O'Donnells, sometimes joining with, and sometimes fighting against the Anglo-Normans, devastated the country, pillaging and burning the abbeys and churches, and then slaughtering one another ; down to the dark period of Saxon misrule and legalized injustice, when the white-rocheted friars formed their last, long-winding procession, as, passing out of their beauteous abbey, they wound their way with lingering footsteps over the adjoining bridge, and cast a final look upon its tall tower and peaked gables, cutting sharp and clear against the western sky."

Sir William Wilde writes as a true Irishman. Everywhere in his book we find national feelings cropping up; and as he is proud of all that gives interest to his native land, he keenly feels the ills that afflict her. He thus (p. 278) bears witness to the *improvement* of a great property consequent on its passing into the hands of English proprietors :—

"Brown bogs, bare mountains, a succession of small lakes, some turf clamps, and a few cottages, are all that are here presented to the tourist, of the great Martin estate, which it was hoped would have been turned into a garden by the vast wealth, good management, business habits, thrift, honesty, and energy of that great London company, from whose mild rule such brilliant expectations were entertained twenty years ago. Looking round now, and not seeing any effort at their fulfilment—with no drainage, no reclamation, and scarcely any planting—those who remember the baronies of Ballinahinch and Moycullen in former days, are reminded of the lunatic in Judea, out of whom one devil was cast, and of whom it was said that having taken with him seven other devils more wicked than himself, 'the last state of that man was worse than his first.' "

And (p. 298) :—

"Although it was bought exceedingly cheap, at a time when Irish property was pressed into the market at a third less than its value, no portion of Ireland of the same extent has made less progress than the Ballinahinch estate during the last twenty years."

We regret to see Sir William Wilde sometimes following the orthography of Ordnance surveyors and others equally unskilled in Irish words. We must decidedly protest against his spelling in the word "*lough*," where he uses a diphthong that is precisely the most *un-Irish* of all vowel combinations; while, at the same time, we admit that some of the best Irish scholars have, in deference to English philology, written the word as he writes it. Yet we cannot help thinking it a pity that *loch*, which is a shorter form, and has the additional advantage of being correct, is not generally used by Irish writers, as it is invariably by the Scotch.

Neither can we agree with him in his adoption of certain etymologies of Irish names; though for some of them he has good authority. In a search after the root of *primitive* geographical designations, we prefer looking for descriptive rather than historical epithets; and where historical names exist, it seems probable that they have generally supplanted the original. Many names in the west of Ireland strikingly illustrate our notions on this subject—for instance, the beautiful and expressive word Anglicized into Connemara. The common derivation of *Corrib*, adopted by Sir William Wilde, is *Orbaen*, the name of an "ancient Danaan navigator;" but we think we could point out several etymologies descriptive of the place, any of which is more likely to be the true one than the title of this mythical personage. It may be noted that, in the pronunciation of *Loch Corrib*, the peasantry always distinctly pronounce the C in the latter word; and if we regard *Loch Corrib* as derived from *loch*, *lake*; *coir*, *solitary*, *desolate*; and *ibh*, *district* or *country*, we shall find a name highly descriptive even at the present day. It must, indeed, be admitted that the *bh* in Irish is the English *r*; so that the sound of the last word does not

correspond very exactly with the last syllable in the name ; but the sounds of *b* and *v* are easily interchangeable. Then there is *carbh*, an ancient Celtic name for a *ship* (Llhyd's *Arch. Brit.*)—the lake of ships, alluding to its size ; and we could suggest other derivations with which we will not trouble the reader. If Moycullen was anciently a wooded district, as it probably was, and if we consider its innumerable small lakes, we fancy that a better etymology may be found for the name in the descriptive words *magh*, a plain ; *coill*, a wood ; and *lin*, a little lake or pool, than in the one assented to by Sir William Wilde, and relating to a warrior called *Uillan*, who killed *Orbsen* "on the western margin of the lake." We believe that there could scarcely be a more unsatisfactory derivation than this ; for, admitting the exploit in question, it would not probably give a name to the entire of a wide region like Moycullen ; and further, it must be remarked that the locality assigned to the fight is not at all in the *great plain*, but separated from it by a range of mountains. However, these are but matters of opinion.

The book is full of effective illustrations ; and, in conclusion, we will only say that the thanks of the Irish archæologist, as well as the general tourist, are eminently due to the author for the masterly way in which he describes a host of interesting monuments, which were lying uncared for and unknown along the path of those who seek the inimitable scenery of the West.

Celebrated Sanctuaries of the Madonna. By the Rev. J. SPENCER NORTHCOTE, D.D., President of S. Mary's College, Oscott. Longmans. 1868.

THIS is a truly valuable contribution to our literature, in a department hitherto little worked. Every reader of Butler's "Lives of the Saints" must have remarked the rich mines of precious and interesting material that remain unexplored in what may be called the outlying regions of hagiology. That very dry, though very estimable, old writer is, to our minds, suggestive of interest in a high degree, almost beside his own intention, and that from the details of history and topography by which his subject may be said to illustrate itself. A keen topographic sense, and appreciation of the picturesqueness of such details, is a faculty possessed by readers, and people in general, in very various degrees. It is like an artist's eye, or a discriminating scent, or an ear for music. At all events, we feel grateful to Dr. Northcote for having supplied this especial source of pleasure in the mind with the ample *pabulum* contained in his more than three hundred pages ; while we learn, rather grudgingly, from his short "advertisement," that the volume contains only a few out of several such contributions to the *Rambler* of 1850-52. "The larger half of the volume," he adds, "is quite new, and has been written by a friend who has already made many valuable contributions to English Catholic literature." It is to be hoped the sale which we confidently anticipate for this book will induce the President of Oscott either to enlarge it in a second edition by the materials he

has now withheld from us, or to throw them together in a new series. If we may venture on a further suggestion, it would be that there are sanctuaries and places of pilgrimage in that most religious land, the Tyrol, still waiting to be presented to the English mind, *carent quia vate sacro*. Waldrast, Georgenberg, and others would fittingly take their place beside his one Swiss sanctuary of Einsiedlen.

Not the least interesting portion of the volume is that which treats of "Sanctuaries of our Lady mentioned in lives of English saints, and those which were the object of 'old English pilgrimages.'" "There is scarcely a parish in England," says Dr. Northcote, "which has not some trace or relic of the old devotion. In one place we find 'Our Lady's Well' still preserved in the parish churchyard [we wonder how many places in England are named Holywell, for a like reason]; in another, as at Woodbridge, in Suffolk, local tradition speaks of the famous image which formerly stood in the wall of the church, 'to which much pilgrimage was made.' Indeed, if we may judge from the indications to be found in topographical histories, we should be disposed to conclude that the English in Catholic times were distinguished in a very remarkable degree by their fondness for this species of devotion. . . . The love of going on pilgrimage was so innate in the English people that neither the Reformation nor the Great Rebellion sufficed to quench it; and Catholics were still found hardy enough to visit some of their favourite sanctuaries, such as the tomb of S. Richard of Chichester, to which many were yearly in the habit of resorting on his feast long after the Restoration" (pp. 290, 1).

We were prepared, of course, to hear of our Lady of Walsingham, the Loreto of our ancestors; and of some few other noted English sanctuaries in the ancient "Dowry of Mary." But we were certainly surprised at the amount of interesting matter which Dr. Northcote has collected for us from Evesham, Tewkesbury, Coventry, and many other places well known to the history and topography of England. As to the great church of the Benedictine monastery of Coventry, founded by "good Earl Leofric and his wife Godiva" in 1043, we may pass by the legend suggested by their names, which gave rise, in the miserable days of Charles II., to a profane travestie of an old Catholic procession. But it is curious, in tracing the chronicle of the place, to stumble upon the namesake of an old acquaintance. The Marmion of history seems to have possessed much the same turn of character as the Marmion of romance.

"In the troubrous times of King Stephen, Robert Marmion, Lord of Tamworth, seized the monastery of S. Mary's, and, turning out the monks, converted the church into a fort, which he held against the Earl of Chester. Roger de Hovedon and Henry of Huntingdon tell us that, as if to mark the divine anger at this sacrilege, blood was seen by many persons to bubble out of the pavement, both in the church and the adjoining cloister. But, whatever may be thought of the truth of this prodigy, the judgment of Heaven was not long in overtaking the sacrilegious oppressor; for as he one day made a sally against the enemy he fell into one of the trenches he had himself caused to be dug, and was wounded in the foot by an arrow. He made light of the injury, which appeared but a trifle; nevertheless, it speedily caused his death, before the sentence of excommunication was removed which he had incurred by his crimes."

The Sanctuary of La Salette, of course, takes high rank on the list of the holy places so pleasantly given to us. It has its own history ; and the interest attaching to it, from many circumstances, is surpassingly great—so great that, as some of our readers may have observed, it has excited the attention of one of the High Anglican journals, a correspondent in which has vindicated the genuineness of the apparition of our Blessed Lady in that place from the scepticism of the ordinary run of Englishmen. The letter we refer to has quoted with approval Dr. Northcote's account of this remarkable spot. To Catholic readers the recommendation was needless. We refer to this letter, partly in illustration of the strange times in which we live, when Catholic "apologies" are undertaken by non-Catholic writers ; partly as a testimony *ab extra* to the interesting materials contained in Dr. Northcote's volume.

Jerome Savonarole et la Statue de Luther à Worms. Par le Révérend Père
PIE MARIE ROUARD DE CARD, Provincial des Pères Prêcheurs, Docteur en Théologie. Louvain : C. T. Fonteyn ; Paris : Poussielgue-Rusand, Rue Cassette, 27.

THIS pamphlet of a hundred pages has been called forth by a proceeding of the Protestants of Germany. They are erecting a great monument to Luther. This is reasonable. Luther was not only a man of remarkable talents and energy, but he was the founder of a new religion, which at one time had millions of partisans. That religion, like other works of men, has now died out. It no longer exists, and Luther has thus been deprived of that which was formerly his memorial (as Islamism is still of Mahomet) : it is natural that those who care anything for him should put up a statue to preserve him from absolute oblivion. Father de Card would never make any complaint of this.

The design includes statues of four men who lived before Luther, and might be regarded as his forerunners. Three of these are not ill selected : they are John Huss, Peter Waldo, and John Wycliffe. A fourth was needed, and the projectors of the monument selected Savonarola. This, of course, assumes that he was, like Huss and the rest, more or less Protestant in sentiments and teaching. The object of this pamphlet is to show by extracts from original documents that—

"The statue of Jerome Savonarola, as a part of the Worms monument, is a pure absurdity. Let no one be astonished at this protest. As a son of S. Dominic, I believe myself to be defending a cause dear to his family—to be defending the interests of the Catholic Church, which can never abandon to heresy the memory of one of her sons who died in the peace of her communion—to be defending also the interests of truth and justice.

"First of all, I must state exactly what I undertake to prove. I do not profess to write a life of Savonarola, or to attempt to clear up all the facts of that life which remain mysterious. Such an undertaking would be at this moment to say the least, beside the purpose, and it would lead me too far

away from the immediate subject of controversy, which is only to examine whether the Protestant Reformation can with justice claim this illustrious man among its precursors. I do not intend to defend every one of Savonarola's actions, and I perfectly understand that many of them will be differently estimated among Catholics. It is possible that I may, some day, say all that I think about Savonarola, and it will only be what has already been published by that great Pope, Benedict XIV. : 'His life was saintly ; and the reputation for sanctity which encompassed him during his life has survived him.' The same Pope has included him in his third list of servants of God, illustrious and venerable for sanctity.

"But, to confine myself to the single point which ought now to be discussed, I propose to prove that the Protestant Reformation cannot with any justice claim as its own the name of Jerome Savonarola, and this I hope to show by examining in turn his private life, his public life, his doctrine, his death."

Our space forbids to follow at any length the argument of the author under these heads. He fully establishes what he promises. We do not see what the projectors of the Worms monument are to do. As the author shows, their reason for taking Savonarola is evident : they had to find representative men of the four chief countries, Germany, France, England, and Italy. But what Italian could they get ? We feel for their difficulty, but cannot admit that it affords any sufficient justification of their posthumous calumny against a great man unable to defend his own character. On the whole, we would suggest as a substitute—Simon Magus. We do not believe he can be proved to have been born in Italy, but he certainly cannot be proved to have been born elsewhere ; and so far, at least, he is better than Savonarola, who can be proved not to have had the least resemblance to a Protestant. Now, Simon clearly was a "great Italian reformer." He opposed the first Pope, and he opposed him in Rome. We cannot imagine a better precursor for Luther. The only objection is, that nothing is known of his private life, which proves that he can, without gross injustice to Simon, be classed with the founder of Protestantism. But the authors of the Worms monument cannot be over-scrupulous on that point, or they would never have thought of Savonarola. In fact, it might be difficult to find any one historical character who combined in any degree all Luther's characteristics.

We will only conclude by expressing our earnest hope that Father de Card will fulfil his half-promise, and tell us all he has to say of Savonarola. We have now a special right to ask, for S. Philip Neri has removed from Rome to England. Father de Card reminds us that "in the process of the beatification of that great saint it was proved that he had a great veneration for Savonarola, that he always kept by him an image of him encircled with a glory, and that he was accustomed to read his works with profit (p. 74) ; and also that when a congregation was appointed by Paul IV., in 1558, to examine and report upon his works, S. Philip organized the prayer of "forty hours" in the church of the Minerva, and that the result of the examination was made known to him by revelation. His historians relate that he was heard suddenly to cry out, "Victory ! We have prevailed ! The Lord has heard our prayers, and has caused that innocence should be brought to light." The congregation decided that the works of Savonarola were free

from all error. Paul III. had already said, when the accusation was strongly pressed, that he regarded as "suspected of heresy" any one who accused Savonarola (p. 75).

The Church of the Fathers. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, D.D., of the Oratory. Fourth Edition. London : Burns, Oates, & Co. 1868.

THIS little work is one of those that the author's countrymen and fellow-Catholics will not willingly let die. Church history, most attractive of pursuits, is also among the most difficult. Writers of Church history have seldom been safe guides, because they have not generally been distinguished for faith ; and, though a paradox in profane history, yet it is a simple fact in ecclesiastical, that unless we commence by believing, we cannot come at the truth. Whatever men may have said or done, the Church of God has ever said and done what is true and right. Perhaps nearly every English-speaking Catholic is longing for a Church history in his own tongue. Meanwhile the historical works of Dr. Newman, though written in great measure before he became a Catholic, are conceived in such a Catholic spirit, as to make us accept them, with a few evident allowances, as brilliant studies for a picture which none of us may live to see realized in all its completeness. We see in them all the great qualities of the first-rate historians. There is the familiarity with original sources ; the wide command of facts ; the boldness and the insight ; that remove every suspicion of second-hand results. There is, more characteristic still, the intellectual power of analysis ; the creative synthesis ; the broad and effective force of view ; which make facts speak, and quicken into life the stony memorials of the past. And there is, most marked of all, the faculty of reproduction ; the gift of speaking other men's thoughts in language such as themselves would have longed to use ; of transmitting the petrified treasures of a dead tongue into a vernacular, that places them, with beauty and dignity nowise impaired, close to modern eyes and in the reach of living hands, and that makes them move the world as they did of old.

The series of Essays in the "Church of the Fathers" does not pretend to be regular history. There is a controversial purpose in them ; and they are ostensibly written to open Protestant eyes to a few of the more striking aspects of good men's lives in the fourth century. The reason for which they were first put forth, makes them, to a certain extent, incomplete as essays in sacred biography. This should be borne in mind ; because to sit down to a book with exaggerated expectations is to incur a severe reaction of disappointment. An essay on S. Anthony, or S. Martin of Tours, from the pen of Dr. Newman is apt by its very title to raise great expectations. And yet there is enough given us to admire, to study, and to profit by. If this little volume contained nothing but its admirable translations from the letters of Basil and of Gregory, it would be a work of art to be placed beside the companion volume of the author's poems. A first-class writer may be expected to be a first-class translator ; but only those who have conscientiously tried,

know the difficulty, and yet the pleasure, of rendering into one's own tongue the words of an eloquent ancient.

"Translation," says Dr. Newman, "is after all but a problem ; how, two languages being given, the nearest approximation may be made in the second to the expression of ideas already conveyed through the medium of the first. The problem almost starts with the assumption that something must be sacrificed ; and the chief question is, what is the least sacrifice ? In a balance of difficulties one translator will aim at being critically correct, and will become obscure,umbrous, and foreign ; another will aim at being English, and will appear deficient in scholarship. While grammatical particles are followed out, the spirit evaporates ; and, while an easy flow of language is secured, new ideas are intruded, or the point of the original lost, or the drift of the context broken."—(*Advertisement to First Edition*, viii.)

In spite, however, of this assumed necessity of sacrificing either sense or sound, the translations in the "Church of the Fathers," like those in the *Essay on Development*, and like the Letters of S. John Chrysostom which appeared in the later numbers of the *Rambler*, are singular models of literal rendering in pure and pellucid English. Take, for instance, the translation of the well-known passage in which S. Basil describes to S. Gregory the scene of his Pontic solitude. For the sake of comparison, we may put it beside another translation, not by any means a bad one,* but one which we may take leave to use to bring out certain beauties in the version before us. S. Basil mentions the lofty mountain, at whose northern base his hermitage stood among cool and clear streams. "At its foot is *an expanse of gently sloping fields*," translates the first version. "A plain lies beneath," is the simple rendering of ours. The introduction of the word "fields" spoils the picture, for there were no fields : the same translator afterwards calls it a "lonely wilderness." The epithet "gently sloping" is an introduction not warranted by the Greek. Our own idea is that the mountain rose rather abruptly, and the plain lay flat out beneath. Dr. Newman says, in the next sentence, that the "trees were almost thick enough to be a fence." The other version, a little more stilted, says that they almost "form a regular enclosure," and abandons the idea of "thickness," which we take to be essential to the sense. S. Basil goes on to evoke a reminiscence of Homer's description of Calypso's island. One would have expected that most translators would have carefully preserved an allusion, so well adapted to brighten their pages. Our version, of course, has it in ; its author knew, even instinctively, that such a trait would bring both Basil's retreat and Basil's mind most effectively before the reader. But the other translator does not see this, and actually leaves it out altogether ; running into one the sentence immediately before and that immediately after. "On two sides" of this insular piece of ground "descends a deep ravine," continues one translation ; "deep hollows cut it off in two directions," is the rendering of ours, which thus gives the whole force of the Greek verb, instead of the commonplace "descending," which in a ravine means nothing. "On the third side"—we continue to quote the first version—"the stream throws itself from a declivity into the depth below, and forms an impassable barrier." This picture is not easy to realize. If it means anything, it tells us

* Mr. Cox's translation of Ullman's *Gregory of Nazianzum*.

that the third side was a ravine too, with the addition of a river at the bottom of it. Our version reads the original differently, and more intelligibly “The river, which had lately fallen down a precipice, runs all along one side and is impassable as a wall.” So that the ravines were not precisely “two sides,” but merely “in two directions”; the river, tumbling from a mountain precipice, enclosed the spot on one side, almost meeting the curving base of the mountain-range on the other. We notice the force of the first aorist preserved in “which had lately fallen.” Lower down, the first translation has the “sweet smell of the meadows.” This is pretty; but unfortunately not warranted by the text; and our rendering gives with rigid sobriety, the “exhalations of the earth.” S. Basil, after a florid description of the natural attractions of his abode, characteristically adds, that he has no time to think of such things; and our translation faithfully reproduces his exclamation. The former version stops precisely short of it, and leaves it out. The holy solitary goes on to say, in the words of the same translation, that, “in addition to its fruitfulness, in all other respects it affords to me the sweetest fruit of quiet and repose.” This is not so good, because not so neat, as, “it nurtures what to me is the sweetest produce of all, quietness.” S. Basil is glad that the place is “unfrequented” by travellers; the first translation gratuitously throws in the words “lonely wilderness,” in order to round off its sentence. He is happy, also, to say that his chosen spot, though abounding in game, has no bears and wolves, “as you have.” Why should the last little epistolary arrow be suppressed? Dr. Newman lets us see it fly. The letter winds up with a hit at *Gregory's* solitude, a place called Tibernia, which Basil here calls the “pit of the whole earth,” and with another graceful classical allusion to Alcmaeon and the Echinades. But the first translation, with a strict feeling of utility, leaves all this out. Such criticism is, doubtless, very minute. But it shows as well as anything else the difference between perfection in translation and mere passableness. It would take us too long to quote extended passages, to show how the translator catches the spirit and swing of his author; how he diffuses the aroma of a particle through a sentence, and happily catches the very quaintness and humour of the Greek in quaint and humorous English.

To those who have lately been reading the fine narrative in which M. de Broglie has embodied the closing years of the great fourth century, nothing can be more interesting and instructive than to compare his treatment of the great figures of Basil and Gregory with that of Dr. Newman. In more than one passage we think we can detect that the eloquent Frenchman is acquainted with the work of the English master. But in any case the study of the life, writings, and characters of the Fathers that flourished from Hilary to Augustine is growing more and more necessary every day. One inconvenience of studying Theology out of short text-books such as are common in modern lecture-rooms, is the sadly inadequate view they give of the mind of the Fathers. That this can scarcely be helped, we are ready to admit; for even to study the Fathers in the lengthy and critical pages of Petavius or Bellarmine is hardly sufficient for ordinary controversial purposes; and it would be foolish to expect more than brief extracts in a text-book. But it is none the less an inconvenience; for to quote a Father without under-

standing his drift, or the force of his terms, is to expose oneself to controversial disaster as well as to domestic contempt. Besides this, the study of the Fathers enlarges the student's view of Theology to an extent that, we are afraid, very few suspect. This is proved by the fact that many who open the pages of Basil or Athanasius in a cursory and casual way, shut them up again with a feeling of their barrenness and inefficiency. The reason of this feeling is that the scope, the intent, the standpoint, the whole mental situation, so to say, of the Father is previously unknown. The reader goes to the ancient for bread ; and he thinks he receives a stone, because he does not know that the bread of those days is not the bread of modern bakers, but something rather harder and drier to modern constitutions, though nothing like a stone, for all that. To read and appreciate the Fathers, the student must have the power of viewing ideas and words from a great many different sides. The stereotyped mind cannot get much good from the study of the lights of the fourth century. But it is to be feared that neither will such a mind be able to meet the shifting shapes of modern error. There has been a time when the Church and her enemies agreed so far that they had a recognized battle-ground and a definite issue. This has changed, and the change is daily completing itself. A man who can master the strange contests of Alexandria and Constantinople, of Italy and of Asia, in early Christian times, will be not unlikely to grapple strongly with the nineteenth-century questions of France and Germany. The mind that wrote the notes on Athanasius has dealt English Protestantism its deadliest blows. Whatever, therefore, can serve as an introduction, or as an incentive to patristic reading, we anxiously welcome. Many, it cannot be doubted, have been moved, and will be moved, to seek out the writings of S. Basil, and shown how to read them aright, by the three sketches of his life and labours contained in the little book we are noticing. Many would be anxious to read the five celebrated discourses on the subjects of the day, delivered by Gregory Nazianzen in his little chapel in the midst of heretical Constantinople, if they were to read the Prince de Broglie's great work.* Great minds are smoothing the way for our clergy, and they should stand up for their inheritance. The tomes of the departed saints are as classic to them as the remnants of cultivated heathenism to the literary world. They have thoughts more noble, ideas more stirring, and language pure and lofty enough not to degrade their themes. Christian Latium can never be poor to us with her Augustine and her Jerome ; Christian Greece is richer still.

All thine is Clement's varied page ;
 And Dionysius, ruler sage,
 In days of doubt and pain
 And Origen with eagle eye ;
 And saintly Basil's purpose high
 To smite imperial heresy
 And cleanse the altar's stain ;

* His animated description of the delivery of those discourses which won for their author his name of *Theologus*.

From thee the glorious preacher came,
With soul of zeal and lips of flame,
A court's stern martyr-guest ;
And thine, O inexhaustive race !
Was Nazianzen's heaven-taught grace ;
And royal-hearted Athanase,
With Paul's own mantle blest.

(*Newman, Verses*, p. 98.)

The Life of Thomas Philip Howard, O.P. Cardinal of Norfolk, &c. &c.
By Fr. C. F. RAYMOND PALMER, O.P. London : Thomas Richardson & Son, 1867.

THIS interesting volume is less a Life of Cardinal Howard (why called in the title-page Cardinal of Norfolk we know not) than a history of the Dominican Order in England. Under the heading of an Introduction, one-third of it deals directly with the rise, missions, and influence of the Dominican Order, and its early connection with this country. This preliminary sketch brings us down to the times in which it pleased God to aid and to edify the suffering English Church by the grace of vocation to the religious life of a member of the noblest family in the land. We regret that the writer has not led us more into the private life of the Cardinal, and that he has placed him before his readers rather as a historical personage than as one "taken from among men." But this has, no doubt, arisen from the two facts that Cardinal Howard's grand aim in life was to lead his country back into the true fold, and that he regarded his own order as especially designed by God to bring about this happy issue. Hence, as nearly all his labours for the conversion of England took the form of zeal for founding and extending the Dominican Order in England, his biographer has very naturally occupied himself almost exclusively with the outward acts,—especially such as have reference to the affairs of the Order,—rather than with the interior life of his subject. As a contribution to the ecclesiastical history of our country at one of the most critical periods of the Church's existence in it, we can heartily recommend it.

Lives of the English Cardinals : including Historical Notices of the Papal Court, from Nicholas Breakspear (Pope Adrian IV.) to Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal Legate. By FOLKESTONE WILLIAMS. London : W. H. Allen & Co. 1868.

TWO volumes, of considerable bulk, replete with popular learning, and the result of multifarious reading undirected by common sense. They are, probably, meant for the use of those deep students who accept all their knowledge, sacred or profane (if they distinguish between the two), from the circulating library. "Lives of the English Cardinals" has a good sound

there is a promise of light, if not of scandalous, reading, combined with useful information, and, indeed, the reader will in one sense not be disappointed, for there are not many books of such matchless erudition as these Lives, to say nothing of the grave amusement they are sure to furnish to what is called the intelligent reader.

The title is slightly erroneous ; it should have been, in order to be accurate, "Historical Notices of the Papal Court, including Lives of the English Cardinals," for the greater part of the work is occupied with the Papal Court, and the last Cardinal spoken of is Wolsey, as if none had been created since his day. The author seems to be unaware that the late Archbishop of Westminster was a Cardinal, while he prophesies the elevation of the present to that high dignity. These are his words in the preface, "A dropped title in the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in England ; but there can be little doubt of its early resumption" (p. viii.).

The book is really a popular invective against the Catholic Church, for, according to the writer, popes, cardinals, bishops, priests, regular and secular, are nothing but hypocritical rogues intent on the acquisition of money and power. "Adopting the cowl was an easy way of beginning a profession, the honours and emoluments of which were greatly in excess of all others" (p. 385). Ambition was the sole motive which the priests recognized, it seems, and that being so, Mr. Williams has given a good account of them.

"The head of the Christian Church frequently did not possess a single Christian attribute ; his characteristics were notoriously the reverse of Apostolic, his policy was often denounced as that of Antichrist. His select council maintained notions of government remarkable only for their intense worldliness" (p. 438).

Speaking of the duties of the Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church the writer uses these words :—

"In foreign affairs there was, in the first place, to be considered the prosperity of the Church in every kingdom, and this was only to be satisfactorily proved by the amount of money contributions the faithful in that part of the world paid into the papal exchequer" (p. 144).

The institution of the Cardinalate "seemed intended to establish the Papacy as a temporal government, with machinery the best adapted for temporal dominion" (p. 74).

"The institution of the Papacy was the work of several centuries" (p. 70).

Let us now hear what is written about the doctrines and practices of Catholics in all ages and in all countries, and therefore easily ascertained by any man who would take the trouble to make inquiry into them.

"Every sinner, male or female, if wealthy, could obtain remission for almost any amount of sin" (p. 156).

"The sale of indulgences and masses was an excellent source of revenue : the first would permit a large amount of evil living, the second remove the penalty of grievous sin. By the one the quick might gratify their inclinations, however reprehensible ; by the other the dead could be rescued from the perils of hell. Rome carried on a lively trade in these wares" (p. 159).

"Even large annual incomes were bequeathed or bestowed for masses to be performed till the imperilled soul was safe in Paradise. *It was alleged that*

the damned testified their appreciation of the efficacy of this rite by the most lively demonstrations immediately it commenced" (p. 255).

"The educated classes of the Christian community had been taught that there were three conditions of life after death. The first was that of eternal happiness . . . the second state of life after death was that of purgatory, a condition of endurance for sinners not sufficiently vile for eternal punishment; . . . the third and last state was that of everlasting damnation, as existing in the region of intolerable torture, the abode of devils, the unquenchable fire of hell. But even in this terrible position the miserable soul was not absolutely deprived of hope. The power of the keys to loose and bind was in the successor of S. Peter, and a sufficient representation at Rome might in due course lead to its transmission to a secondary state of punishment, there to receive divine absolution, and thence eventually to be called to partake of eternal bliss" (pp. 438, 439).

It is certainly marvellous that an educated man, conversant with books, and having opportunities of learning, could at this day sit down and write, and then print, grotesque absurdities of this sort. He may himself, through some defect, hold these views, but how can he attribute them to mediæval Catholics?

Here is something still more curious. In a note (p. 114), the writer, borrowing from the novelists, describes the Interdict.

"The doom was announced at midnight by the tolling of the bells; after which all the priests of every grade entered the churches by torchlight, *the consecrated wafers were burnt*; . . . the relics deposited in the crypt, &c."

The clergy usually described as secular and regular, are distinguished by Mr. Williams, apparently in his ignorance, into "regular and irregular," (ii. p. 34). By the former he means the parish priests and the secular clergy generally, and the "irregular" clergy are monks, friars, and canons living in community. Lest we should be suspected of unfairness, we shall prove our assertion by two or three extracts.

"In every country there were, besides the regular clergy, a number of religious communities rising into importance" (i. p. 144).

"The regular clergy were generally opposed to the monks, especially those of the mendicant orders" (p. 284).

"There was quite as much [hostility] between the monks and the regular clergy" (p. 408).

"A priest in deacon's orders" (p. 241).

This is not all. In the life of Cardinal Langham, we are told, and told correctly, that in his early years he was induced "to join the fraternity of S. Peter's, Westminster" (p. 287); but whether this "fraternity" was Benedictine or Dominican is left in obscurity. Perhaps everybody, as the saying is, knows that the Abbey of Westminter was a Benedictine house, and, in fact, Mr. Williams speaks of them as a "Benedictine community." Nevertheless, in p. 406 we read this of the Benedictine Langham: "As a Dominican he regarded the mendicant orders as interlopers," and (p. 417), it is said of him that he "was eager to be back amongst the Dominicans, with whom he had entered on his ecclesiastical career." Perhaps the solution of the puzzle is this: Mr. Williams does not know that there is any difference between a Benedictine monk and a Dominican friar.

Simon Langham is traduced as a heretic, or at least a fautor of heresy.

Mr. Williams says, "there cannot be a doubt that he approved of the opinions the reformer was inculcating" (p. 406). Now, as "the reformer" was Wicliffe, the charge is a very grave one, and some authority should have been produced for the statement, for the general impression is that Langham was no friend of Wicliffe, or of his opinions, and the friends of the reformer have spoken ill of Langham because he turned that turbulent priest out of Canterbury Hall. This is admitted by Mr. Williams himself (vol. ii. p. 4), though he seems not to be aware that the Archbishop of Canterbury, who thus treated Wicliffe, was none other than Simon Langham the cardinal.

Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than the way Mr. Williams refers to the authorities on which he is supposed to rely. Occasionally he gives merely the name of the writer, sometimes the title of a work, besides—volume and page of course omitted. On the whole this is probably wisely done, but it is troublesome to those readers who are not disposed to trust Mr. Williams. That he is not altogether worthy of trust, shall now be shown.

He says (p. 333) that the Dominicans "took forcible possession of a house in Dunstable," while the Franciscans did the same in Bury St. Edmunds, and "the owners of the property had no redress."

Well, the "owners of the property" in Dunstable say, *Annal. Dunstapl.*, ad an. 1259, that though they did not like the Dominicans, yet they did give them leave to settle in the town; *moram ibidem a nobis impetraverunt*. In Bury St. Edmunds the "owner of the property" gave up his house to the Franciscans, as may be clearly seen in *Flor. Wigorn.*, ad an. 1256, vol. ii. p. 187.

S. Richard of Chichester is said to have been Bishop of Winchester (p. 357). Boniface VIII., whom the satellites of Philip le Bel seized at Anagni, is said to have been seized in Rome (p. 370). According to Matthew of Westminster, he [Benedict XI.] was poisoned by the Cardinals. The printed copy of that writer says nothing of the sort.

Of Innocent IV. this is written among other things:—

"He did as he liked with the English, appointing Boniface, a Provençal, uncle of the queen of England, to be primate, and two bishops, Chichester and Chester, without the slightest reference to the king" (p. 294).

We do not admit that the Pope was either wrong or arbitrary, even if the charge were true; but with that view of the case we have nothing to do, because there is no necessity for considering it. It is the fact alone that we are concerned with. In the first place, Boniface of Savoy was not appointed in the first instance by the Pope, he was elected by the monks of Canterbury at the king's request; *regis instantia*, and *secundum domini regis desiderium* are the words of Matthew Paris, who never has a good word for the Pope.

The Bishop of Chichester—and in this case it was S. Richard—was certainly elected without, and against, the consent of Henry III., but the evil deed was not the act of the Pope; the bishops of the province of Canterbury generally were the workers of iniquity who made the saint a bishop. The Canons of Chichester, for reasons of their own, elected for their bishop a man famous for his worldly craft and success; and, moreover, in favour with the king. But as his learning was notoriously scanty, the primate elect and his

suffragans were extremely angry, and determined to leave the man where he was. For this end they deputed Grossteste, bishop of Lincoln, to examine him in theology, who very quickly revealed to him certain portions of his ignorance. The bishops rejected him, quashed the election, in some way or other, and found means to nominate S. Richard in his place, keeping the whole process, however, a secret from the king, whose concurrence they never asked for. It does not appear that the Pope knew anything of the matter ; he found the nomination apparently regular, and at once confirmed the election, and consecrated the saint with his own hands.

The third election, to the see of Chester, was that of Roger Wesham, Dean of Lincoln. Mr. Williams seems not to be acquainted with the history of the case, for if he had been, he would have said Lichfield and Coventry, instead of Chester, for there was no bishopric of Chester in those days, nor for many days afterwards. The see of Lichfield and Coventry was frequently designated the see of Chester, because the bishop of it had, for a few years, in the time of the Conqueror, sat in Chester. But even the election to the see of "Chester" was regular enough so far as the Pope is concerned ; it was the work of Grossteste again to keep the affair secret from Henry III. And still more, the king's attorney at Avignon attempted to hinder the consecration, but his objections were regarded as of no force, and Mr. Williams does not pretend, we hope, to say that the Pope is to set aside a valid and regular election of a fit person merely because Henry III. had not been consulted by the chapter ; for the question raised is not about the king's consent to the election—that was given long before the election was made.

Mr. Williams gives us a picture of the Pope in his palace at Avignon ; it is the author's own work, derived, perhaps in some measure, from Villani, or, in general, his copyists. In the midst of this description we are told that the events described took place on "the 11th July, in the year 1349" (p. 396). "His Holiness had thrown open the state apartments of the pontifical palace, the Pontiff having just consecrated him [Thomas Bradwardine] Archbishop of Canterbury" (p. 397). Now that consecration took place on the 19th of July, and therefore had not taken place on the 11th of that month.

Not satisfied with one blunder in the midst of a scandalous libel he commits two more at least. "Hugo, Cardinal of Tudela," a brother of the Pope, is described as insulting both the Pope and the archbishop by what is called "a practical joke."

"Suddenly the doors were thrown open, and there was a movement of intense surprise among the entire company. There entered a rustic on a donkey, who at once rode up to the Pontiff to present a petition. Its prayer was that the donkey might be made a bishop" (pp. 397, 398).

If the story were true, no blame could lie on Mr. Williams for repeating it ; but even then he ought to repeat it correctly. Who invented the tale we cannot say, but Parker the Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury tells it, though no man of sense has hitherto believed it. Parker, however, says the joke was made on the 19th July, and that the prayer of the petition was, not that the donkey might be made a bishop, but that the man who rode it might have an archbishopric. "Hugo of Tudela" is a blunder of Mr. Williams's,

it should have been Hugo of Tulle, of which see the cardinal was bishop elect at the time ; and it is but justice to the memory of the cardinal to say that he was a man of grave conversation and austere life. Hugo Tutelensis is not Hugo of Tudela, but of Tulle.

The misfortune of Mr. Williams is that he has not understood the matters of which he wrote, or that he has taken his account of them from men as little acquainted with them as he seems to be himself.

Cardinal Langton "crowned" Henry III. on the 17th of May, 1220, "in Westminster Abbey, a former coronation having been considered informal" (p. 238). There never was any question about the formality or informality of any coronation of Henry III., and the fact of which Mr. Williams speaks is nothing more than one of the three solemn coronations annually made ; that is, the king wore his crown during the high mass at the three great feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. In the time of Henry III. the custom was falling into disuse, and this "coronation" took place on the feast of Pentecost. On these occasions the Archbishops of Canterbury placed the crown on the king's head, and that was the only time when the Archbishop of Canterbury said mass in the royal chapel.

"The world were informed that the empire had been bestowed by His Holiness as *bonum feudum*" (p. 120).

"In vain they declared that a clerical error had been perpetrated : it was *bonum factum* not *feudum* that ought to have been written in the papal declarations" (p. 135).

Mr. Williams does not even understand the story, which is as follows :— The Emperor charged the Pope with saying that he regarded the empire as a fief of the Holy See, because of the word *beneficium* in a papal letter which the Imperial lawyers pretended to consider as intended for benefice, and not, as it really was, for good offices. The Pope in his reply says that he used the word in its natural sense, and that it did not mean *feudum*, but *bonum factum* ; there was no question whatever about what was written, that was clear enough, the Pope had written *beneficium*, and the Emperor never said otherwise. This is probably enough to show how much the "Lives of the English Cardinals" is worth.

English Monasticism. London : Jackson, Walford, & Hodder. 1867.

WE have said so much about Glastonbury, in another part of our present number, that it might appear to dwell over much on one subject if we did more than give the title of Mr. O'Dell Travers Hill's work. It is a book, we are forced to say, of no ordinary silliness. In the raving incoherence of its ultra-Protestantism, and the sort of inane declamation with which it is set forth, it reminds us more of Archdeacon Wordsworth's effusions than of any other writings that occur to us. Fancy an author who cannot mention the proto-martyr S. Stephen without drawing a parallel between his Jewish persecutors and (the said author's own fancy-portrait of) the Inquisition ! The book has been so far framed on a good plan that Mr.

Hill endeavours to trace the rise, progress, and influence of the monastic system in England by the fortunes of one remarkable instance of that system ; and Glastonbury, being the most prominent of English monasteries through the whole course of its history, is fixed upon for the *experimentum*, not *in corpore vili*. This is a hint worth following up. The history of our larger monasteries still remains to be written. It would not be beyond the leisure and means of investigation of some among our Catholic writers to give us the same kind of monograph of our other great Benedictine and Cistercian establishments, the ghastly beauty of whose ruins forms such a feature in British topography all over the face of our land. Meanwhile we are glad to reproduce a passage conceived in a better spirit than many other parts of the volume. Mr. Hill is speaking of such portions of the monastic system as claim his admiration : and it would be well if he and others were at the pains to enforce the following point upon the officials of, e.g., the Farnham Union workhouse :—

" Besides being the cradle of art and science, the monastery was a great and most efficient engine for the dispensation of public charity. At its refectory kitchen the poor were always cheerfully welcomed, generously treated, and periodically relieved ; in fine, the care of the poor was not only regarded as a solemn duty, but was undertaken with the most cheerful devotion and the most unremitting zeal. They were not treated like an unsightly social disease, which was to be cured if possible, but, at any rate, kept out of sight ; they were not handed over to the tender sympathies of paid relieving officers, nor dealt with by the merciless laws of statistics : but they were treated gently and kindly, in the spirit of the Great Master, who, when on earth, bestowed upon them the larger share of His sympathy,—who, in the tenderness of His pity, dignified poverty and sanctified charity when He declared that, ' Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me.' Whatever may have been the vices of the monastic system, or the errors of its ritual, its untiring charity was its great redeeming virtue" (Introduction, pp. 5, 6).

We thank Mr. Hill also for another candid sentence, by which Usher and others might have profited, both as to the first foundation of Glastonbury, and many kindred points beside :—

" One thing it would be well to remember in historical investigation, that in cases where writers so authoritatively declare this and that [document] to be spurious and unauthentic, the reason of their rejecting such a document is generally far more apparent than the reason why it should have been forged at all. It has become convenient to some historians of the nineteenth century to brand a considerable amount of documentary ecclesiastical evidence as forgeries, which at the time of its creation would have answered no purpose, and would in all probability have failed as such" (p. 49).

It is, no doubt, in the anti-Roman interest that we find him writing as follows ; but we may accept his facts, without admitting the conclusion he would attempt to draw from them :—

" There can be no doubt that the plot of marshy land known to the ancient Britons by the name of Ynswitryn or Avalonia, and subsequently called by the Saxons Glassenberg or Glastonbury, was the spot where, in the first century of the Christian era, was erected the first English temple of the Christian faith. However contradictory the ancient chroniclers are as to

who was the planter, all unite in fixing upon this spot for the planting. . . . The last (of three theories), sadly clouded by legend, but receiving some faint confirmation (!) in the antiquities of the country, is that which fixes upon S. Philip as the apostolic instigator, and S. Joseph of Arimathea as the actual missionary, who, in the midst of the darkness of paganism, first planted on the marshy isle of Avalon the Cross of Christ. . . . The Cross was planted, the Church was founded; and when, five centuries later, S. Augustine came to England, he found on the isle of Avalon, at Glassenberg, or Glastonbury, a compact, renowned body of Christians dwelling there, active and prosperous. . . . History mentions little of the young colony after the death of Arviragus, but fortunately sufficient to preserve the clue."

He then gives the account of SS. Faganus and Diruvianus being sent from Pope S. Eleutherius, in the second century:—

"They were soon informed that Christianity had already been preached in the south-western portions of the country by other missionaries, who had retired to Ynswitry or Avalonia, where they lived and died, and where a church had been erected. They then pushed on for this Holy Isle, as it was even then called, and about the year 183 arrived there, and found the rude, rush-covered church, which, we are told, in after years received the familiar name of 'Ealdechirche,' the old church. Here also they discovered many evidences of a Christian colony; for, although Christianity had spread through the neighbouring districts, and even to the court itself, the 'Ealdechirche' had been deserted as its devotees died off. Guided in their researches by the two Christian courtiers—one of whom, Eluan, was a native of the island [of Avalon, *i.e.*]—the Roman delegates took possession of the spot, built another oratory of stone to S. Peter and S. Paul, and also the church at the top of the Tor Hill adjoining, dedicated to S. Michael. Here they settled and lived for nine years, when, in memory of the first twelve, they chose twelve of their company to dwell in the island, in little cells apart, but to meet daily in the church for public worship. They also obtained from King Lucius a confirmation of their title to the island for themselves and their successors"—("English Monasticism," pp. 39–50).

We will dismiss the book with one extract more, which we do not believe to constrain an overcharged description of the spot:—

"In the early part of the sixteenth century the ancient Abbey of Glastonbury was in the plenitude of its magnificence and power. It had been the cynosure for the devotees of all nations, who for nearly eleven centuries flocked in crowds to its fane. . . . Although not a single picture, but only an inventoried description, is extant of this largest abbey in the kingdom, yet, standing amidst its silent ruins, the imagination can form some faint idea of what it must have been when its aisles were vocal with the chant of its many-voiced choir, when gorgeous processions moved grandly through its cloisters, and when its altars, its chapels, its windows, its pillars, were all decorated with the myriad splendours of monastic art. Passing in at the great western entrance, through a lodge kept by a grave lay-brother, we find ourselves in a little world, shut up by a high wall which swept round its domains, enclosing an area of more than sixty acres. The eye is arrested at once by a majestic pile of building, stretching itself out in the shape of an immense cross, from the centre of whose transept there rises a high tower. . . . A splendid monument of the genius of those mediæval times, whose mighty cathedrals stand before us now like massive poems or graven history. . . . Beneath this tessellated pavement is a spacious crypt, provided with an altar, and, when used for service, illuminated by lamps suspended from the

ceiling. S. Joseph's chapel, however, with its resplendent altars, . . . is only a foretaste or prelude of that full glare of splendour which bursts upon the view on ascending the flight of steps leading from its lower level up to the nave of the great abbey church itself, which was dedicated to S. Mary. Arrived at that point, the spectator gazes upon a long vista of some four hundred feet, including the nave and choir" (Introduction, pp. 7-10).

The Life of Father Balthasar Alvarez, Religious of the Society of Jesus. By F. LOUIS DU PONT, of the same Society. Translated from the French. In 2 vols. Vol. I. London : Richardson & Son, 1868.

CONSIDERING the number of foreign Catholic books which have within the last twenty years been brought within the reach of English readers, it is somewhat surprising that no translation has hitherto been made of this valuable work. Coming from the pen of one of the greatest spiritual directors the Church ever produced, it is for that reason alone, if for no other, well adapted to assist in supplying a present need, the importance of which to English Catholics cannot be overrated. Few will deny that the formation of a sound and healthy Catholic literature is of paramount importance to us, and that whatever may be wanting for this purpose in native growth must be obtained from foreign sources—foreign, that is to say, so far as mere locality of production is concerned, though not in any other sense ; for that which belongs to the whole Catholic body can hardly be foreign to any of its individual members. We, therefore, congratulate the translator on putting into an English dress a work which comes to us with the recommendation that it was written by an eminent master of the spiritual life, whom the Church has declared a venerable servant of God, and whose canonization has frequently been demanded by the kings of Spain.

But the importance of this work does not consist solely in the fact that it was written by the Ven. Luis de la Puente, by the way, who is known to French readers as Père Louis du Pont. It is as interesting in its subject as in its author, for it details the events of the life of a holy Jesuit, who not only exercised a wide-spread influence on the members of his own Society, but helped to mould the spiritual life of the sainted foundress of another distinguished Order, and himself attained to so sublime a degree of virtue that it was revealed to his client S. Teresa "that he surpassed in perfection all the holy souls then living" (p. 134). When we call to mind that at the time this revelation was made S. Philip Neri was founding his congregation of the Oratory in Rome, S. Charles Borromeo sanctifying himself and his flock in the see of Milan, S. Francis Borgia illuminating the Society of Jesus with his singular virtues and austeries, and S. Teresa closely uniting herself to God by the practice of the most ardent charity and entire self-sacrifice, we shall be able to form some conception of the height of perfection at which Father Balthasar Alvarez must have arrived. Lest, however, this description of exalted virtue should deter a diffident Catholic from studying the life of Father

Balthasar, concluding that it must contain things admirable only, and not imitable, we may mention that these pages teem with instructions which cannot fail to be profitable to every devout reader, though he be the merest novice in spirituality. What, for example, could be more practical, even for ordinary Christians, than the following exhortation to thanksgiving after communion?—

"Well convinced that all might, if they pleased, enjoy the wonderful favours and spiritual delights with which God loaded him in his thanksgivings, he exhorted them not to lose such great blessings. 'I seem,' he said to them, 'to hear Jesus Christ giving you the warning He gave one day to His Apostles : " You will not have Me always with you." ' 'Me autem non semper habebitis.' (S. John xii. 8.) Yes, this is what He says to each of you after communion. It is only necessary to understand the meaning of these words, which is, 'I am actually present in the midst of your heart, and I am come to give you the opportunity of carrying on with Me a holy and useful commerce. But, as you know, I shall not always remain with you. My presence is attached to the subsistence of the sacramental species. In a few moments they will be destroyed, and I shall then retire. Profit, then, of this short visit to negotiate with Me, and enrich yourselves with the blessings I wish to heap upon you.'" The servant of God added these few words to this touching exhortation : 'He who communicates should endeavour to lose none of that precious time, when the Divine Majesty dwells within him. I will show you how it may be spent holily. First of all, we must reflect on the presence of God, and adore Him with the deepest possible respect. Then we must acknowledge ourselves unworthy to behold His divine face, and humbly ask His blessing ; we must then listen attentively to the interior voice by which He deigns to speak to the soul, to profit by the lights He gives, and to follow His counsels. There are two defects in particular against which communicants should be on their guard--too short thanksgivings, and too much reading or meditation. Those who are guilty of the first fault are very blind to their own interest, not to speak of their ingratitude and rudeness. God comes to visit them with His hands full of graces, and they leave Him to run after their pleasures or business. Can we conceive such folly? Every one who has a true love for his soul, instead of shortening his thanksgiving after communion, prolongs it as much as he can, according to the counsel of Ecclesiasticus xiv. 16 : "Lose not the benefit of the good day, nor any part of the blessing God gives thee." "Non defrauderis a die bono, et particula boni non te pretereat."

"The second defect, though less hateful, is no less injurious. Reading, meditations, and long prayers have doubtless their utility, but they are misplaced during the time devoted to thanksgiving. These exercises, in fact, are supplications that we send forth to God to beg Him to come into our hearts ; now is it the time to call upon Him, and entreat Him, when we are actually in the enjoyment of His presence ? Besides, what can books or meditations teach us that is not taught much better by Jesus Christ Himself present ? What sweetness and consolation can such means procure that we do not find much more abundantly in communion ? If the reading of good books be a help to holiness, certainly familiarity with the thrice Holy God is a much more efficacious aid. Reading raises up our heart towards Him, but our pious affections, such as we should have in our thanksgiving, draw down His towards us. He speaks to us in books, we speak to Him in holy prayer.

"O Lord, he is very sick who is fatigued by Thy visits ; that soul is very near a fall that does not find her joy and satisfaction in Thee. Where, in

fact, shall she find it, if God does not suffice to satisfy her? Where shall she find the zeal and devotedness Thou meritest, if Thy loving visit cannot inspire her with these virtues? Thou honourest her by descending into her house, and Thou comest to bestow on her all sort of goods; what ought not to be her gratitude? But if Thy conversation be burdensome to her, if she leave Thee to run elsewhere, it is clear that her heart is fixed upon something different from Thee.'”—(Pp. 83-86.)

Very touching and effective, also, is the following incentive to perseverance in prayer:—

“Let us not be tired, my brethren, of going to the gates of God, which are always open, or which will certainly open immediately when we knock, according to this promise: ‘Knock, and it shall be opened to you.’ ‘Pulsate, et aperietur vobis.’ (Luke xi.) How is it that this promise of Jesus Christ to us does not suffice to make us bear His delays in peace, and to support our confidence? Can we then doubt of the teaching of faith? Reason alone would suffice to reassure us. Does it not, in effect, tell us that the hardest heart cannot bear to see a poor man trembling with cold at his door without opening it? Now, the Heart of God is not a hard heart; it is the heart of a father. Let us, then, my brethren, persevere in knocking at the door of this great God, even if an icy cold should seize us. At the moment when we least think of it, Assuerus will open the door to Mardonius, and admit him into his presence. Then his happiness will make him quickly forget the miserable days passed at the gate of this great king.”—(Pp. 164, 5.)

We regret, however, to observe a number of blemishes of a serious character which have been faithfully transferred from the French translation to the present version. Whole sentences and paragraphs of the original Spanish are sometimes omitted, while others are so inaccurately rendered that the author's meaning is distorted or lost. For instance, at p. 32, after relating some advice of Father John of Avila on the necessity for constant prayer, the English translation proceeds, “In speaking thus, Father Balthasar only expressed what was his own constant and persevering practice.” This is an accurate rendering of the French version, but it differs widely from the Spanish, which reads, “Lastly, he put the finishing stroke to all the care he took (to gain the spirit of prayer) by the great constancy and perseverance he employed in all the above-mentioned things.”* Again, at p. 142, the sentence, “For fourteen years I was in the habit of presenting myself before God as a poor man asking alms,” should read, “After fourteen years I was moved to place myself in the presence of the Lord as a poor man expecting alms.”† Besides these more serious errors, we frequently meet with French names for places which we are accustomed to designate according to the Spanish nomenclature, as, for example, “Complute” instead of “Alcalà,” “Abula” instead of “Avila,” “Val d'Olet” instead of “Valladolid,” and “Métine-du-Champ,” instead of “Medina del Campo.” We the more regret the existence

* Finalmente echò el sello à todas sus diligencias con la grande constancia, y perseverancia que tuvo en todas las cosas sobredichas.—*Obras Espirituales del V. P. Lugo de la Puente.* Madrid, 1690.

† Passados catorze años, fui puesto en ponerme en la presencia del Señor, esperando limosna como pobre.—*Ibid.*

of these blemishes in the English version because of the great esteem in which we have always held the original work, but we trust that our observations will be in time to prevent the occurrence of similar errors in the second volume.

Messrs. Richardson have brought out this volume in a light and readable shape, uniform in size and external appearance with Father Faber's "Notes."

Life and Letters of Madame Swetchine. By Count DE FALLOUX. Translated by H. W. PRESTON. Boston : Roberts Brothers.

IN our January number we promised our readers a further notice of the translation of the Count de Falloux's singularly attractive and instructive life of Madame Swetchine. Had that life been spent, like the life of Eugénie de Guérin, in the retirement of a provincial château, it would still have excited the interest and the loving admiration of all who can appreciate an exquisitely feminine character, endowed with high intellectual powers, refined by assiduous cultivation, and with an unusual measure of moral excellence, supernaturalized by faithful correspondence with grace. But the book before us owes its charm not only to the beauty of the principal figure, but to the religious and historical interest of the stirring events amidst which it is placed, and of the remarkable characters grouped around it, amongst whom the noble biographer himself is not one of the least distinguished.

Sophia Swetchine (née Soymonof) was born at Moscow, in November, 1782. Her father, who was descended from an ancient Moscovite family, was secretary to the Empress Catherine II., and occupied a high place in the administration. He was a grave, learned man, of noble mind and manners, full of the Utopian schemes of universal philanthropy at that time struggling with the old Moscovite traditions which had received so rude a shock from the hand of Peter the Great, but utterly destitute of religion. At the age of fourteen, Sophia Soymonof was acquainted with the Russian language, of which most persons in the higher ranks were ignorant ; spoke English and Italian with as much ease and purity as French, and German correctly, and was studying Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. But of religious exercises she knew nothing save the pompous ceremonies of the Imperial chapel, and had never been taught even to say her morning and evening prayers. From her earliest years she showed remarkable firmness of character, and a self-control of which one or two remarkable instances are given by M. de Falloux (pp. 13 and 14).

At sixteen Mademoiselle Soymonof was appointed maid of honour to the Princess Mary of Wurtemberg, the bride of Paul I., who had just succeeded his mother. The young empress was a model of patient sweetness and goodness in a position of extraordinary difficulty. Under her kind and careful guardianship, Sophia remained until she was seventeen. The cultivation of her mind was not neglected, and her talent for both music and drawing,

which was considerable, sedulously cultivated. She was not remarkable for beauty, but she possessed a charm of voice and manner, and a high-bred ease and grace which distinguished her even to the latest years of her life. At the age of seventeen Mdlle. Soymonof was affianced by her father to General Swetchine, his own personal friend, a man of high military distinction, upright character, and a calm and kindly spirit. He was forty-two years of age; but the disparity of years does not seem to have made him unacceptable to Sophia, who acquiesced in the choice, as in every wish of her father, with loving deference. She had lost her mother several years before, and the certainty that she would be still able to fill a mother's place to her little sister was to her the greatest consolation. She was never blessed with children of her own. Shortly after his daughter's marriage, M. Soymonof, by one of the unaccountable caprices of the Emperor Paul, was sent in disgrace from S. Petersburg to Moscow. The spirit of the proud, upright man of the world, who had no higher consolation to support him under the sense of disgrace and the separation from his darling daughter, was utterly broken, and he was carried off by a stroke of apoplexy. This, her first severe sorrow, brought Madame Swetchine to God.

"That first solitude of soul, that need of a support which had never failed her, and whose loss she had never faced, lifted her eyes at once to heaven. Her first prayer sprang from her first trial, and when she could no longer say *my father!* she cried my God. 'I woke early,' she wrote many years afterwards, 'from a sleep worse than death. At the age of nineteen, I threw myself into the arms of God, with a passionate fervour unexampled in my experience. For several years my religion was of that stamp, and, if you will believe it, my friend, five minutes of religious exaltation sufficed to obtain every sacrifice, and give direction to the remainder of my life. It was grace ; and I say it with the deepest conviction, I deserved none. Later, Providence took away my milk and leading-strings. How weak I felt when it became necessary for me to walk alone, and climb instead of leaping'!" . .

It is remarkable that in this fervour of religious enthusiasm, destitute as she was of all spiritual guidance, Madame Swetchine was preserved from falling into the false mysticism of Madame de Krüdener, who obtained so strong an ascendancy over the mind of the Emperor Alexander, and over the minds of many who, like himself, were yearning for something more living and loving than Russian *orthodoxy*. An instinctive reverence for authority attached herto the system by which it was represented to her ; and it was not till painful and careful investigation had proved to her the schismatical position of the body to which she belonged, that she sought and found her home in the arms of the true mother, whose place had been usurped so long. The chief instruments of her conversion and of the conversion of many others of her countrymen were some of the faithful and noble-hearted French Catholics who sought refuge in Russia from the universal philanthropy which was making one vast charnel-house of France. The Emperor Paul, under the name of the *Comte de Nord*, had visited France in the days when Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette were the idols of the fickle Parisians ; he now extended a ready and honest protection to the *Orphan of the Temple*, their sole-surviving child, and to many of the noblest of the French aristocracy.

The old chivalrous names, once household words at Versailles and Trianon were now familiar in the drawing-rooms of S. Petersburg, and among those who bore them were some whose saintly lives would not have disgraced the Church of the Catacombs. There were some like the Count de Maistre, well able to defend their religion by their lips and by their pen ; more whose lives and deaths witnessed most eloquently alone. Of this number was the Princess de Tarente, who died just as her long exile was ended by the restoration of the Bourbons, and she was preparing to return to France. "Her influence," says M. de Falloux, "was rather the authority of virtue than of superiority of mind. Her political ideas were remarkable neither for depth of wisdom nor acuteness of penetration, but they were mixed up with such stately traditions and such pathetic misfortunes, that one easily forgave her fixed contemplation of the past, and never approached her without being lifted above oneself by veneration and tenderness."

Count de Maistre was undoubtedly, of all the friends of Madame Swetchine, the one who had the strongest influence over her mind. Yet he was not, she used to say, the first in the field. The honour of the introduction of Catholicism amongst the Russians belonged of right to M. d'Augaud, an old officer of the French marine, and Chevalier of S. Louis, who brought with him from France a prayer composed by the saintly Madame Elizabeth, which he had received as a parting gift. He had neither the superior mental endowments nor the sensible religious fervour which distinguished Count de Maistre, and in his humility he did not aspire to influence any ; "but the very simplicity and essentially French grace of his mind, his liveliness, and the sweet frankness with which he expressed his convictions, gave him a power over those with whom he conversed the more irresistible, as they never thought of guarding themselves against it."

Madame Swetchine became acquainted with these Catholic friends in 1801 ; but it was not until the autumn of 1815 that the full light broke upon her, and "the darkness of her mind," to use her own words, "yielded to the *fiat lux* spoken by the voice of God in the depths of her conscience." The intervening years had been spent happily and usefully in the loving care, first of her young sister, and then of an adopted daughter of her husband, and in deeds of devoted charity to the poor, to which the widowed Empress Mary devoted her remaining life, and in which she was aided by the Empress Elizabeth, the beautiful but neglected wife of the Emperor Alexander. Much of Madame Swetchine's time was then, as always, devoted to correspondence with her friends upon subjects both religious and literary, and upon the engrossing political topics of those spirit-stirring days. Of this correspondence M. de Falloux has made free and judicious use, leaving Madame Swetchine and her friends, as far as possible, to tell the story of her life without the intervention of a biographer. He has also enabled us to trace the progress of her mind, both intellectually and spiritually, by selections from an enormous collection of extracts from various authors, begun by her in her nineteenth year. Thirty-five of these volumes remain, thirty of which are in quarto, filled with close fine writing. Reading with her was never a simple relaxation. She had not done with a book till she had filled it with notes and comments, and in some cases

copied it entire. These voluminous extracts represent the successive stages of her mental and spiritual progress.

In the June of 1815 her doubts as to the claims of the Russian Church to her allegiance became so urgent that she determined upon resolving them by a course of searching inquiry, which issued in her submission to the Catholic Church. She retired for six months to the country house of a friend, where, during the brief days and long nights of the Russian autumn and winter, she employed herself in examining the most contradictory documents which she had laboriously collected beforehand. She saw that the question at issue between the Latin and Greek Churches was not so much a question of doctrine as first and pre-eminently of history. She therefore analyzed most carefully the acts of the principal Ecumenical Councils assembled in the East, noting particularly whatever bore upon the supremacy of the Pope. Her chief guide through this historical labyrinth was Fleury, whose unsatisfactory tone added weight to the testimony which he bore to the truth in question. Greeks lauded him to the skies, Protestants spoke of him with respect, and he was not absolutely rejected by Catholics. Her searching analysis of Fleury's Church History remains entire in a folio volume of four hundred and fifty pages, filled with her closest and finest writing. But, while thus working her way to the truth by a laborious path which few are called upon, or have ability or perseverance to follow, she neglected not the royal road of prayer. Her friend the Princess Galitzin, already a Catholic, had composed a prayer for her conversion, which she had repeated daily for the last five years. And hers were no formal supplications. In a letter written a little while before her conversion she says, "I have been often reproached with what people call my familiarity with God; and it is quite true that, starting from the principle that no one who loves is offended by confidence, I take Him, as it were, aside, and tell Him of my joys and of my wishes, as well as of my sorrows. Prayer is to me a *tête-à-tête par excellence*, and I pity those with whom it is nothing but a soliloquy." The following note occurs in one of her manuscript books:—"My last Greek Communion, on the 20th of June, 1815, was received with the sole purpose of removing my remaining hesitation. God in His goodness did not despise my choice of means, and on the 8th of November of the same year I made my abjuration." It was made in secret. Her first confession was heard by Father Rosaven in a drawing-room with open doors, and in momentary dread of interruption. The consequences of this step, when she made it known, and the jealousy aroused at court by the respectful and affectionate regard borne by the emperor to Madame Swetchine, led to the removal of both herself and her husband to Paris, where both were to end their days, and where Madame Swetchine was to form friendships and to exert an influence for good which have given a more than European celebrity to the name of one of the most retiring and simple-minded of women. The filial love and reverence borne to her by Père Lacordaire, M. de Montalembert, and the writer of the present biography, has been revealed by all three. Her letters to the illustrious Dominican, and his replies, form perhaps the most interesting portion of his correspondence. "She was a woman," he once said, "whom S. Jerome

would have loved as he loved S. Paula." Her humility was wounded by the comparison, yet it strikes us as singularly happy ; the combination of great intellectual gifts and singular firmness of character with womanly tenderness, which distinguished Madame Swetchine, reminds us of that saintly daughter of the Scipios and the Gracchi, whom S. Francis of Sales describes as "Phumble violette." Another quality remarkable in Madame Swetchine, and which was brought into strong relief by the varied and often exciting circumstances of her life, was her appreciation of good in those who differed from her. Her unswerving fidelity to her own convictions of truth and duty was accompanied by a respect and tenderness for the conscientious convictions of others, which enabled her to be the friend, adviser, and confidante of persons who had few other connecting links between them.

The good she effected during the thirty years of her residence in Paris will never be known till the secrets of all hearts are disclosed. She rarely gave what is called advice, her humility made her shrink from responsibility. "God alone gives us grace to answer," she would say ; but "if you opened your heart to her, she extended you her hand, and never drew it back again." In her conversation she never aimed at effect. The very absence of all pretension was her first claim to originality. Except under some strong excitement, she was never brilliant. There was nothing striking about her. People loved and admired her instinctively long before they could give an account of the charm which subdued them.

Madame Swetchine's days were divided into three distinct parts. She kept the morning exclusively to herself ; but her morning began before day. At eight o'clock she had heard Mass and visited the poor (her daily and most cherished occupation). She then came home ; and her doors were closed till three o'clock. From three till six her drawing-room was open ; it was closed from six to nine. At nine her soirée began, and rarely closed till midnight. The *habitués* of the afternoon and evening were generally different.

Madame Swetchine's charitable labours in Paris in no way interfered with her duty to her dependents in Russia, over whom, in her banishment, she never failed to exercise a tender and watchful care. She would never consent to follow the advice of her friends, who urged her to sell her property in Russia, and place her fortune beyond the reach of any arbitrary measure. "I will never," she said, "forsake the peasants whom God has entrusted to my care, and so strengthen in the emperor's mind the fatal prejudice which makes him suppose that by becoming a Catholic one ceases to be a Russian."

Madame Swetchine survived her kind and venerable husband five years. Without any premonitory symptom he was struck down by a sudden fit of apoplexy, at the age of ninety-two, as his wife was reading the morning paper to him. Their union had been one of perfect harmony and affection. General Swetchine loved his wife devotedly, and with a kind of tender veneration, and she bore him an affection full of respect, and tended him in his old age with loving care.

Madame Swetchine had been a sufferer for the greater part of her life from painful bodily ailments. The details of her last illness and death,

simple, holy, and self-forgetting as her life had been, are given in a touching letter from M. de Falloux to the Count de Montalembert, which closes this most interesting and instructive history. We are glad to see it in an English dress, for the sake of those to whom the original is unknown. But we cannot speak highly of the translation. There are glaring blunders here and there, such as *Paule et Marcella*, translated *Paul and Marcellus*; *arrêt, arrest*, &c., which make nonsense of the passages in which they occur; and the English throughout does poor justice to the exquisite French of M. de Falloux.

Etudes Religieuses, Historiques et Littéraires, par des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus. Paris : Albanel 15, Rue de Tournon.

THE *Etudes* for February contains a curious historical article upon “Albert of Brandenbourg, first Duke of Prussia.” All the world knows that this man, a younger son of the Margrave of Brandenbourg, was elected Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights about ten years before the commencement of Luther’s evil career; and that in 1525, under the influence of Luther and Melanthon, his “conscience” (in some respects resembling that of our King Henry VIII.) compelled him, as Bossuet says in the “Variations,” “to become a married man, a reformer, and a hereditary sovereign.” He obtained for himself the territory which he had held in trust for the Teutonic Knights, and, after holding it for forty-three years, left it to his son, upon whose death without children, his dominions fell into the elder branch of his family, and ultimately gave the title of king to the House of Brandenbourg. But what has only very lately been made known by documents in the Vatican, published by the learned Oratorian Theiner, is, that Albert himself, in his later years, returned to the Catholic Church, and sent a private embassy to Rome to obtain both the removal of his own excommunication and the advice of the Holy Father as to the means of bringing back his subjects to the one true faith. It may seem a matter of small importance what so bad a man believed or did, but we cannot admit that it is so. Surely, nothing is a stronger testimony to the supernatural power of the Catholic Church over men’s consciences, than the fact that no one ever heard of a man who, finding himself approaching to death, after living all his life as a Catholic, has felt that he could not die easy without first becoming a Protestant; while, on the other hand, all the world knows how very numerous are the instances of Protestants who, on the approach of death, have resolved to submit to the Catholic Church. As to this poor man, the family which he took such wretched measures to aggrandize, soon came to worse than nothing. His only son lived many years, a nominal sovereign, but in truth a lunatic, deprived even of his personal liberty; and the unhonoured death of that son ended his line. Let us hope that the return to the Church of the founder of the Prussian State may be only a type of the return of that State itself to the unity of the Church.

Among other articles in the number of the *Etudes* before us there is one on Bees, by F. Babaz, S.J., who gave us two months back, in the same magazine, a most curious and interesting one on Spiders. The Rev. Father is one of those gifted men who see much more than their neighbours in the common objects which nature offers to the eyes of all. It is the old story of "eyes and no eyes." The number of the magazine before us is also enriched by a "Bulletin of Science," which, it is announced, is henceforth to appear quarterly. It is supplied by a man of unusual ability and great attainments upon all subjects of mathematics and physical science, the Rev. F. Carbonnelle, S.J., who, after having been superior of the College of S. F. Xavier at Calcutta, has lately been recalled to occupy the chair of Professor at Louvain. He gives here some exceedingly curious information upon the experiments lately made as to the interpenetration of different metals by gases. F. Carbonnelle is one of those lucid writers who have the gift of explaining the most difficult subjects in a manner intelligible to every reader. The recent experiments which he explains, promise (among several other very curious results which he indicates) to enable us to ascertain the nature of the atmosphere in which meteoric stones (those hitherto puzzling phenomena of nature) have been, before falling to the earth. The amount of knowledge with respect to the matter of which the sun and even the fixed stars are composed, which we may ultimately attain by following up the course of inquiry which they suggest, it is as yet impossible to anticipate. F. Carbonnelle gives a good deal of curious information about the two eclipses of the sun in 1868. The first took place on Sunday, February the 23rd; the other is to be on August the 18th. It is a total eclipse, unfortunately for us not visible in England, but which takes place when the moon is at its nearest point of approach to the earth. The consequence is, that the period of total eclipse, instead of lasting, as it usually does, only a few seconds, will last for almost five minutes. This will not happen again for a century. It is expected that considerable discoveries as to the physical construction of the sun may reward careful observations made during this eclipse, and F. Carbonnelle expresses an expectation that many European astronomers will go out with their instruments expressly to have the opportunity of taking them where the eclipse will be most favourably observed; viz., in British India. F. Carbonnelle must be tempted to wish that his return to Europe had been delayed a few months, so that he might himself have been among the observers of a phenomenon, the sight of which he evidently considers cheaply purchased at the cost of a voyage to the other side of the earth. But, happily, nothing earthly seems to a good religious worth weighing against holy obedience.

In the same paper F. Carbonnelle gives some curious details about the Electric Telegraph, and ends by a very fair and courteous account of the strange attempt made by a celebrated French *savant*, M. Chasles, to prove that Sir Isaac Newton in truth fraudulently appropriated the discoveries attributed to him, and that they were really made by Pascal. This (as our readers are probably aware) M. Chasles attempts to prove by producing an immense mass of letters, professing to be originals written by "Pascal, Newton, Huyghens, Cassini, Galileo, Malebranche, Montesquieu, Louis XIV.,

and James II. To the credit of the literary and scientific men of France, they seem generally agreed that the letters are a forgery; and, what is strange, M. Chasles refuses to say how he got them, or to give any means of tracing their history. The celebrated astronomer Leverrier, in a tone of calm irony, stated that, as M. Chasles was, unfortunately, unable to do this, he had at once dismissed any further thought about them, which, he says, is the habit of astronomers. M. Chasles, however, perseveres. Under these circumstances, F. Carbonnelle says, with great courtesy, "Here is a painful question for an impartial judge; for the choice lies only between two improbabilities. Is it probable that so distinguished a man as M. Chasles should allow himself to be the dupe of a forger? Is it probable that so great a man as Newton should have been knave enough to impose upon the whole world? There is no other alternative." He then shows reasons for deciding that the letters are a forgery—a very thoughtful and deliberate forgery; for hardly any doubt can be suggested as to one of them, which is not satisfactorily met by some other letter in the series. Unfortunately, however, they receive no support from any trustworthy document outside this same series. Thus, it is admitted that Pascal could not have made the discoveries disclosed in his supposed letters to Newton if he had not been informed of certain observations. Had he any knowledge of them? "Unquestionably," says M. Chasles; "for see, here is (in my series) a letter written with his own hand by Galileo to Pascal in 1641, in which those observations are described." "Indeed," it is replied; "but could Galileo write in 1641? had he not lately become totally blind?" "No," says M. Chasles, "for here are letters (still in my series) from Viviani, which distinctly state that he could then see to read and write." All holds together beautifully, but F. Carbonnelle shows that both Galileo and Viviani, in extant documents quite distinct from this series, declare the contrary. It is impossible not to feel that, although this controversy has not lost its interest, the nature of that interest is changed. When M. Chasles first produced his "letters," the question was whether or not Newton was an impostor. That question is now settled by the agreement of all reasonable men. But it has left behind it another question, interesting in its measure; to wit, by whom were the letters forged? M. Chasles is an eminent literary man, whose character is of value to his country, and it ought not certainly to be less valuable to himself. Under these circumstances, it is strange that he does not feel that justice to himself requires that he should contribute his aid to the solution of this question, by stating the quarter from which the supposed letters came into his possession.

We have called especial attention to the quarterly, "scientific Bulletin" of F. Carbonnelle because we cannot help thinking that there are in England many Catholics who will be glad to have put before them in a form so concise, so clear and interesting, the subjects which from time to time are occupying the attention of scientific men. This they will find in the quarterly scientific article of the *Etudes*.

Parochial and Plain Sermons. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B.D., formerly Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford. In eight volumes. Vols. i. and ii. London, Oxford, and Cambridge : Rivingtons.

MESSRS. RIVINGTON are at present republishing in a very neat and convenient shape, a complete edition of Doctor Newman's sermons preached in the Church of England. The eight volumes, of which two have been already published, will contain the various series of sermons preached between the years 1825 and 1843—the first six including the "Parochial Sermons," and the seventh and eighth the "Plain Sermons, Contributors to the Tracts for the Times," which was Dr. Newman's contribution to that series. The present edition is produced under the care of the Rev. W. J. Copeland, of Farnham, who, at the conclusion of a preface, brief but written in an excellent spirit, says :—"It is right, though scarcely necessary to observe, that the republication of these sermons by the editor is not to be considered as equivalent to a reassertion by their author of all that they contain; inasmuch as being printed entire and unaltered, except in the most insignificant particulars, they cannot be free from passages which he certainly now would wish were otherwise, or would, one may be sure, desire to see altered or omitted." A little instance indeed indicates the exact fidelity with which the original text is reproduced—and that is the extraordinary abundance of italicized passages, a form of mechanical emphasis, which has almost disappeared from Dr. Newman's later style, and which indeed was never necessary to a style of such intensity, transparency, and tension. We cordially join, though not perhaps in Mr. Copeland's exact sense, "in the fervent hope and belief that like good to that which by God's blessing, these Sermons have done before, they may by His mercy do yet again under other circumstances."

The Doctrine of Holy Indulgences explained to the Faithful. By the Abate DOMENICO SERRA. Translated by F. AMBROSE S. J. JOHN, of the Oratory of S. Philip Neri, Edgbaston. London : Burns and Oates.

ONE of the greatest benefits conferred in our time on English Catholic devotion, was F. S. J. John's translation of the "Raccolta." He has now proceeded to translate and publish a treatise on indulgences, of which we had hoped to give a full account in our present number. But our good intentions have effected their own overthrow. We were so resolved not to set to work until we had time to write *fully*, that we have ended by putting it off until we have no time to write *at all*. In our next number we hope to repair the deficiency, and meanwhile we heartily recommend the volume to our readers' study.

Correspondence.

LETTER IN ANSWER TO "VINDEX."

(To the Editor of the DUBLIN REVIEW.)

SIR,—I have read the letter of "Vindex" in the DUBLIN REVIEW of last April, and I have endeavoured, to the best of my poor ability, not to repeat in the present letter the faults (as far as I can see them) which he pointed out to me. I hope he will feel that here at least I have tried to do justice to Professor Ubachs, and that I have not made use of a single epithet which has not been sanctioned by his own use.

In reviewing "Vindex's" letters, *i.e.*, that to the DUBLIN REVIEW of April last, and those in the *Westminster Gazette* (No. 59, 60-62), to which he refers his readers for his views, I have, for clearness sake, drawn out his various theories and systems, and compared them with each other, and I have ventured, as the reader may observe, to express, from time to time, my inability to follow him. Next, I have given the general view of Church Philosophers as expressed by F. Kleutgen, and have confirmed his view by the learned brochure of Dr. Schütz. It would be arrogance indeed (well deserving of all "Vindex's" severity), were I to pretend to lay down a system of philosophy of my own as the only sound teaching. I merely hope, by the aid of a little gentle criticism at first, and the light of great minds next, to throw one little ray into the obscurity.

First of all, "Vindex" has several theories about the seven condemned propositions.

Theory I. is this: "Their meaning is clear (N. 59). Any ordinary reader who will consider them at all carefully will see that in their *prima facie* sense they affirm the monstrous doctrines" censured below. "Vindex" brands them with the following marks, showing he holds them to be directly contradictory—in their *prima facie* sense—to the Deposit.

Censures A. "They tend proximately to the subversion of all philosophy, of all virtue, and of all religion." "The simple truth is, these propositions are monstrous." "They are really atheistical." "They are utterly pantheistic and rationalistic."

Censures B. The 1st is "astounding nonsense;" 2nd and 3rd, "outrageous absurdities;" 4th, contains three assertions, "all three atrociously absurd;" 5th, "an outrageous absurdity;" 6th, made up of five points, "all these points are absolutely insane;" and "ontologists suppose these propositions must have been framed in Bedlam, or after dinner;" the 7th, "an outrageous absurdity." (N. 60.)

Censures A. and B. exclude each other.

"Nonsense," says Butler, "is that which is neither true nor false;" or, if he prefers Dryden, "The literal sense is hard to flesh and blood, but *nonsense* never can be understood."

Censures C. "Ontologism is the antipodes to these propositions." (N. 59.) "All seven of them are no more ontologic propositions than they are the man in the moon and the Siamese twins." (N. 60.)

Who taught A, B, and C? "Leading ontologists." (N. 60.) That is, Professor Ubaghs taught doctrines "altogether similar" to some of the propositions* A, B, C. (I use "Vindex's" translation of *plane similes* as fairer and more accurate than mine. See W. G. for Jan. 18.) And M. Brancherau taught propositions "almost identical with A, B, C." (N. 62.)

D. Did these men want acuteness? Professor Ubaghs "possessed a rare penetration of intellect, and an art but little known of clearly explaining the most obscure questions." (N. 57.) M. Brancherau was "an eminent philosopher." (N. 62.) Were they led away by fellow-ontologists? "Ontologists say that they [unlike these two professors] never held such doctrines (as A, B, C) that they heartily detest them, that they gladly subscribe their condemnation, and have a thousand times refuted them." (N. 59.)

Theory II. Here the seven (1) "are capable of [see A] a bad sense." (See B. N. 62.) (2.) "Some of them, at least, are capable of a good sense" (See A.B.) i.e., after having been subject to "important restrictions." (See C. idem.)† (3). In a word, as *they stand*, none of them are capable of a good sense. (See Theory I. with Theory II.)

Professor Ubaghs and Brancherau taught propositions akin to these, (4) and both the seven, and those taught by the professors, were condemned as "unsafe," because "ambiguously worded." (See C.) (Idem.) But "Vindex" says, too (5), the Holy Office teaches that they all have a good sense, by declaring them only "dangerous" and "unsafe." Had the Holy Office held opinion three of Theory II., he tells us it would have branded them as "atrocious, absurd, stuff and nonsense;" and as "altogether damnable."‡ (See A, B.) (N. 62.) (6.) "If any," says "Vindex," "through ignorance, or misguided zeal, or malice, say different [from the judgment of the Holy Office], they pervert the judgment of the Holy Office, in order to set up their own private opinions for dogmas of the Church—a thing most strictly forbidden by Pope Benedict XIV. in his Constitution *Solicita et provida*, and most injurious to charity and peace. (Therefore compare A with c below). (N. 62.)

(7.) According to this theory those who, like MM. Ubaghs and Brancherau, have taught doctrines almost identical with, and altogether similar to, A, B, C, are "simple and credulous men." (Idem.) (See D.)

Theory III. The Roman Theory.

* I sometimes speak of A, B, C, as censures, sometimes as the seven, or some of the seven propositions so censured. The context will make clear when the one is intended, and when the other.

† Idem, throughout, refers to the number or page whence the sentence is taken, from the *Westminster Gazette* or *DUBLIN REVIEW*.

‡ But it did not so brand them; but see what he does at A, B.

a. The seven "cannot be safely taught." (See A with 6.)

b. M. Ubaghs' books were censured (not as containing "propositions ambiguously worded," but) as containing *doctrines altogether similar* to some of the seven. (See (4).)

c. The censure was "cannot safely be taught." (See A. and (6).)

Theory IV. (See DUBLIN REVIEW, April, p. 579.)

e. "Ontologism *explicitly* contradicts all those seven condemned propositions." (See (5).)

y. The first proposition of the seven by *its terms* permits and *requires* the following interpretation : An immediate (i. e., *facie ad faciem*, unconditional, actual) knowledge of God, at least habitual, or God's immediate knowledge (of Himself and of all things in Himself, inasmuch as their being and substance are His being and substance) is of the essence of the human intellect ; so that, except by it, it can know nothing, since this knowledge is the light of the intellect (and with it the intellect possesses all possible knowledge). Idem. (See (4) and B.)

z. This proposition, which *requires* the above interpretation, is "equivocal and treacherous" (idem), and the rest are "ambiguous." (See A, B, C.)

w. With the proper distinctions they are *all* sound. (See (2) and then B.)

And now a word on P. Ubaghs, at whom "Vindex's" Theory strikes with cruel force. I mean Theory I., on which he lays by far his greatest stress.

I will explain myself. "Altogether similar doctrines" are visited by "altogether similar" censures. Now, though I hold that Professor Ubaghs (unconsciously) taught for a length of years poisonous doctrines, I am far from going the lengths of censures A. I consider they destroy the idea of the Professor's good faith. I reject censures B as striking at his intellect, censures C as striking at his judgment ; and while I hold D, with restrictions, I am at the same time of opinion that the Professor was somewhat obscured by his philosophy.

"Vindex" rejects my theory of obscuration. So, holding D unconditionally, and at the same time holding A, B, and C, he irredeemably destroys the good name of Professor Ubaghs. However, I will do "Vindex" the justice to believe that he will be ready to sacrifice his theory to save his Professor.

If the reader have any curiosity, compare proposition A with B, B with D, C with D, (2) with (5), A with (6), D with (7), a with A, and (6), (3) with (5), (4) with (b), B with (2), (5) with (2), B with (5), y with z, (4) with y, B with x, and so on, and see whether he can hold them simultaneously without falling under censures B. Then he might try the effect of holding theory I. with theory II., theory II. with theory III., theory I. with theory III., theory IV. with theory III., and finally theories I., II., III., and IV. altogether. That "Vindex" holds theory III., as well as theories I., II., and IV., is evident from (6). But I cannot say whether he holds them altogether or by turns. But my impression is that he holds them all at once.

The next question is—is ontologism condemned ? "Vindex" says of those who think this ground dangerous, "their feelings and motives carry no weight with me, for the evidence both external and internal is so overwhelming, that, to such as know it fully, there is no room for doubt that ontologism is

not touched by the decrees of 1861.* (N. 60.) He tells us, agreeing with F. Kleutgen and Ubaghs, that on these three following points, "modern ontologists agree."† I call this System I.

1. God, the perfect being, always present to the mind, is perceived by the soul by an immediate intellectual vision or intuition, without any intermediate image or idea.

2. The eternal verities are something identical with God, and are seen directly in contemplating Him.

3. God is the light of the mind, without which nothing is intelligible to it. After quoting this from Professor Ubaghs, "Vindex" adds, "There is no misunderstanding between F. Kleutgen and myself as to what are the principles of ontology."

This is the first of the seven condemned propositions :—

4. *Immediata Dei cognito, habitualis saltem, intellectui humano essentialis est, ita ut sine eâ nihilo cognoscere possit : siquidem est ipsum lumen intellectuale.* See, under Theories, A, B, C ; then compare System I. with 4 and with System IV.

System II.

5. The infinite Being is the *first* intelligible idea, the light in which we see all eternal truths, and out of whose essence we see no eternal truths. (N. 62.)

6. Yet the following is *not* "the fundamental tenet of ordinary ontologists" : "The immediate knowledge of God must be the *first* in order of all our knowledge : He himself is the *first* object known. This knowledge is possessed by all men at least in confuso, and is implicitly the source of our knowledge of all other things."‡ So the first intelligible idea is not the first object known. Then, the first object known must be something unintelligible. See 6 with 1, 2, 3. Then, under Theories, B.

System III.

7. Without the immediate presence of the intelligible ideas which *exist in the essence* of God, the mind cannot perceive the primary principles of reason, metaphysical or moral, or perform *any* intellectual operation.§ (N. 60.)

* This was said in the beginning of February. About three weeks before he held ontologism to be a very questionable system. (See note further on.)

† I quite agree with "Vindex" here. See my reasons in Malebranche, c. I. 3, p. 2, ch. 7, p. 115; Fabre, p. 2; Fénelon, "De l'existence de Dieu," p. 2; "Sans Fiel," p. 23; Ubaghs' *Essai*, p. 63; "Bossuet, Œuvres complètes," tom. ii. p. 35; Liebnitz, "Logica et Metaph.," Genev. 1768, p. 217; Rothenflue "Inst. Philos.," p. 211; Schmid, "Wissenschaftliche Richtungen aus dem Gebiet des Katholizismus, München," 1862, p. 111.

‡ See DUBLIN REVIEW, April, p. 580.—The Editor of the REVIEW thinks this is a fundamental tenet of ontologists; so does Malebranche: *De la Recherche de la Vérité.* Paris, 1712, I. 3, p. 2, ch. 6, p. 102. See also Kleutgen, *Die Philosophie der Vorzeit*, Münster, tom. i. p. 712. "Vindex" gives no authorities for his view.

§ "Haud idonea est ipsa mens nostra in ipsis rationibus, quibus facta sunt (omnia), ea videre apud Deum, ut hoc sciamus, quot et quanta qualiaque sint" (St. Aug. *De Gent.* I. v. c. 16, n. 34).

8. The objective intelligible ideas are the light of the intellect, and render its operations intellectual. (Idem.)

9. We understand the Divine Being *only as He is perceived* in the intelligible ideas of God and His attributes, which ideas are virtually distinct from the essence of God. (Idem.)

10. Sensitive knowledge does not depend on a previous knowledge of God. (Idem.) Compare 3 with 10, 7 with 10, 8 with 10.) Can we "know" the unintelligible? Does not knowledge depend on some intellectual operation? Does not ideas in God's every intellectual operation depend on essence, according to 7, and on the Divine Being according to 3? Or can a man "know" without an intellect, or see without light? (See 3 with 10, 2 with 9.) In one case we are said to see the ideas and not the essence, because virtually distinct.* By parity of reasoning then, in 2 we see the essence, and *not* the ideas. (See 1 with 9, 3 with 8; see B.)

System IV.

11. Man knows God directly in the intelligible ideas of His Being and attributes, which reside in His essence, and manifest Him *ad extrā* to the mind.† (See 1 with 11, 2 with 11, 5 with 11. DUB. REV. p. 580.)

But, 12. "Our perception of God is not through intermediate ideas which represent the absolute intelligible truths to the soul." (Idem.)

Ad extrā, if it mean anything, means outside Himself. So that which is in God's essence manifests outside His essence that which is within it. This cannot be done by an "intermediate idea" (see 12). Therefore God makes in *via* to man, an *ad extrā* manifestation of that which resides in His adorable essence.

13. We can have an experimental knowledge of creatures without knowing them intellectually (idem). We know them experimentally by direct sensitive perception of them severally, according to their kinds (compare 13 with 3, then see B. Idem). So that were man's "intellect or reason" blotted out, sensation would become knowledge, so that he would "know" by sensitive perception creatures severally according to their kinds.‡ Would he "know," judge, and compare them together (nothing being intelligible to him, all the time) with his arm or with his leg? (See 3.)

14. Man knows creatures intellectually by the union with this sensitive knowledge [which is *not* intelligible] of the knowledge of the eternal archetypes which are *seen in God*. (Idem.)

So men's "intellectual" knowledge of creatures is the result of a synthesis of an unintelligible sensation, with an intuition of an archetype in the essence of God. A house, a tree, a horse, a rat, a pig,—intellectually known, is a vision of God, who is modified, according to the various sensations produced

* "Offenbar ist dieser letztausgesprochene Satz," says Schmid, "das Hauptbollwerk für allen und jeden Ontologismus; damit steht er und damit fällt er." (P. 109.)

† Si videtur Deus vel aliqua attributa ejus, necesse est videri totam essentiam Dei." (Suarez, De ult. fine, disp. 16, sec. 2, n. 5.)

‡ Rothenflue, I. c. p. 185; and Ubaghs, p. 59—63; Logic, p. 129, are more consistent.

in my body, into the intellectual representation of created things.* Now read the Fifth condemned proposition, viz. :—

Omnis aliae ideae non sunt nisi modificationes ideaee, quia Deus tanquam eus simpliciter intelligitur. (See A, B, particularly C.)

"The previous exciting cause or condition of our perception of ideas in God's essence is our experience of things finite (idem). Though we have no "idea" of them. He must mean "sensations," for there is utter darkness without the *lumen intellectus*. (See 3, 7, 5.)

Whether "Vindex" holds these four systems one after the other, or simultaneously, I have no certainty for knowing. A short while ago he considered them the "only antidote" to A, B, C, and "the only true system of philosophy." He must see now that they assert or necessarily imply "an immediate perception of God, or of that which is really identical with God." (See DUBLIN REVIEW, April, p. 569.) But this doctrine, he seems to admit (p. 569), is absolutely condemned by the Church. So, after all, in place of being "the only antidote" to A, B, they "favour" A, B (then what becomes of C!), and instead of being "the only true system of philosophy," they are a false system of philosophy (see A). I therefore do "Vindex" the charity to believe (and it is to be hoped he will clearly state that it is not misplaced †) that he cordially rejects System I., II., III., and IV., and embraces System V., namely that "our perception of God is not *facie ad faciem*; it is conditional or *mediate*," which is the contradictory of System I., on which "modern ontologists agree," and of II., III., and IV.‡ Now compare 4 with C, B.; 5 with 6; 1, 2, 3, with 6; 3 with 10, 7 with 10, 8 with 10, 3 with 13; 2 with 9; 1 with 9; 3 with 8. Then see B; 1 with 11, 2 with 11, 5 with 11; 13 with 7. See B. Compare System V. with the other four: with 5, 7, 11; and finally again see B, as my humble opinion of the result of the comparison of theories with systems, with each other, and with their parts. (See B, 6th censure, as the censure which it would fall under most naturally.)

15. Now to pass on. What is the "overwhelming evidence" proving ontologism *not* condemned? I will keep to System I., on which "modern ontologists agree." §

"Vindex" brings five witnesses: (1) In 1862, Mgr. Guibert wrote "from the surest and best authorized sources," that "ontologism had never been the object of censure"; (2) Mgr. Doney, in 1864, wrote, "all ontologism is not

* Different from S. Augustine, Conf. 1, 7, c. 17, n. 23. De gen. 1, 4, c. 32. Compare De vera relig. c. 29, n. 52. De Trinit. I. 12, c. 14; II. c. 9, n. 16.

† "Vindex," at the same time that he puts forward system V. in the DUBLIN REVIEW, also puts forward System IV. (see 11, 12) its direct contradictory (April, p. 580).

‡ In January, "Vindex" held all these systems, I., II., III., IV., V., to be questionably sound. "This is a subject [whether the ontological system be sound or not] for the serious consideration of philosophers and others." (See W. G., Vol. iii. n. 54, p. 38, Jan. 4, 1868.)

§ See DUBLIN REVIEW, April, p. 580.—There is no escape by saying that I am arguing from a particular to a universal—from *some* to all. I do not wish to press the argument further than it goes.

condemned": therefore *some* is. Witness (2) contradicts witness (1). Besides *solvitur ambulando*. In 1860 System I. was widely taught; in 1868 it is everywhere rejected. Now come three Roman savants, (3) Vercellone, (4) Rignano, (5) Ceni. "One of these" (says "Vindex") "has been deposed from his unimportant office for having helped to foster an illusion in certain minds" . . . still "there will be two left," which two he does not say. So three are discredited. "Vindex" only gives the system of one of them. "The idea of being," says P. Rignano, "makes us intelligent; it is an *image* and a *likeness of God*." This directly contradicts System I. (see 1 and 12, then question 15). But the *Institutiones* of Gerdil? I can find no proposition in his two volumes identical with Proposition 1 (System I.) in which "modern ontologists agree." He says (p. 192, tom. ii.) "*cognitio nostra visio proprie, seu cognitio intuitiva nequit appellari*." He says "(1) Ex una parte essentiam divinam intuemur prout representativam perfectionum, quae formaliter sunt in creaturis: unde potius dicenda est *id quo*, quam *id quod cognoscitur*: (2) ex alia parte *Deum ipsum* cognoscimus secundum attributa quedam *abstracta* praecipue vero secundum attributum abstractum infinitatis —non secundum quod est in seipso." (Idem.) The doctrine, then, of these *Institutiones* on the immediate vision of God, is not, as "Vindex" asserted, "identical" with that "in which modern Ontologists agree," but its contradictory. It also contradicts System II.; and, moreover, there is such a heavy cloud hanging over these two little volumes at present, that one would hardly take them as a *tessera veritatis* in matters of such a delicate nature as metaphysics, even supposing p. 192 did not contain propositions mutually destructive. I have marked them (1) and (2).

What has been the general teaching of the scholastics? F. Kleutgen gives it in his "Philosophie der Vorzeit." And the teaching of Dr. Schütz is a strong confirmation of the view given by the learned Jesuit. I will first give the substance of F. Kleutgen's fifth chapter,* and then make some quotations from S. Augustine, giving Dr. Schütz's summary of his teaching. Some of the references and notes are added, in places, by myself.

That we may possess truth, we must attain to something unchangeable which may serve as a rule by which other things may be judged.† Things which fall under the senses are subject to change. Moreover, the impression made by a sensible object differs according to the state a man happens to be in. The man who is in good health and one who is sick are differently affected by the same object. If there were no other way of attaining truth men would be led astray. Plato draws the conclusion from these two facts that the senses are not the only instruments by which man attains to certain truths. Since we are conscious, he argues, of some truth which is permanent, it must follow that, besides the sensible order which is always changing, there must be something unchangeable and eternal, viz., the ideas; and that

* Erste Abhandlung. Von den intellectuellen Vorstellungen. In wiefern wir die Dinge vermittelst der ewigen Ideen erkennen. (P. 89.)

† "Vindex" expresses contempt for Father Kleutgen. I felt rather surprised at that, since "Vindex" studiously avoids the real point of every one of this philosopher's arguments.

we must possess a faculty above sense by which we are enabled under the influence of these ideas to contemplate the essence of things.

Aristotle took a different view from Plato. He shows that although the sensible order is subject to change, that still there is that within it which has a character of permanency, and that as we possess the faculty of knowing the changeable, so also we have a higher faculty of detecting in the same order something permanent, viz., the nature and essence of things. Now, Plato's doctrine cannot be harmonized with this, but S. Augustine's * can. For, according to S. Augustine, these ideas are not independent entities, but they are the eternal thoughts of God. As such (what Plato wants) they can still be considered both as the foundation (ground) of the permanent being of things, and also of our knowledge of them. They are the foundation of the being of things because everything that exists and continues in being has in them the examples and the laws by which it exists and continues existing. They are the foundation of our knowledge, because our mind possesses a power, not only of knowing what is fluctuating, but also what is permanent, because it partakes, through the light of reason, of the increased light in which God knows all things. How so? That similarity to God, by reason of which man, of all beings on the earth, is called God's likeness, consists in its deepest reason in the spiritual essence of the soul—in its immateriality, by reason of which it possesses over and above the sensible life to which the organs of the body minister, an intellectual life—a being which is independent of the body. As in God the absolute independence of His Being must be considered the foundation of the Divine reason—of the uncreated light—in which are contained all the ideas of the First Cause, so also that immateriality by reason of which our soul possesses a great likeness to God, must be considered the foundation of that intellectual light by means of which it knows the essence of things, and, according to its measure, thinks God's thoughts.

How far can we say that we know all things in the Divine ideas? Only so far as we wish to point to them as the foundation of our knowledge. We say that we see things in the sun, because the sun gives the light by which we see things, but not because we look on the sun itself and see all things that are around us within the sun; so we know things in the Divine ideas, because God gives to our soul the light of reason, and so lets us participate in the light by which He knows all things, and not at all because we see the eternal ideas in God, and in them the essences of things. For this method of knowing, which is natural to God alone, is given to the created soul through the supernatural light of heavenly glory.†

* S. Augustine disagreed much with the Platonists. See *De Civ. Dei*, I. 8, c. 17. *De Vera Relig.* c. 2, n. 2, contradicts Sans Fiel, p. 233.

† Cum quaeritur, utram *anima humana in rationibus eternis omnia cognoscat*; dicendum est, quod aliquid in aliquo cognosci duplice. Uno modo sicut in objecto cognito, sicut aliquis videt in speculo ea, quorum imagines in speculo resultant; et hoc modo anima in statu presentis vite non potest videre omnia in rationibus eternis; sed sic in rationibus eternis cognoscunt omnia Beati, qui Deum vident et omnia in ipso. Alio modo dicitur aliquid cognosci in aliquo sicut in cognitionis principio; sicut si

So when S. Augustine says that all that we know is known by us not in ourselves but in the immutable truth which is above us, and hence the Divine ideas furnish the highest norma according to which we judge about truth, he means nothing else, according to S. Thomas, than that we possess a reliable criterion with regard to the truth of our knowledge, because the laws which are in our soul harmonize with the eternal truth which is in God.* And in truth, that we have a participation in the Divine light, by which we possess the faculty to know, but by no means are put in the possession of knowledge, S. Augustine proves himself by telling us that we must acquire our knowledge of things gradually by observation and experience.† True enough, the holy Doctor speaks also of an intuition of truth, not as it is in things, but as it is in God; but this vision is not, according to him, the natural knowledge of reason, which is possessed by all men, but a higher grade of grace, by which pure and holy souls are elevated, even in this life, to a knowledge which approximates towards heavenly vision.‡

F. Kleutgen proceeds, "The later scholastics, as far as I know, have held no other view but that of S. Thomas."

dicamus, quod in sole videntur ea, que videntur per solem. Et *sic* necesse est dicere, quod anima humana omnia cognoscat in rationibus aeternis, per quarum participationem omnia cognoscimus. Ipsum enim lumen intellectuale, quod est in nobis, nihil est aliud quam quedam participata similitudo luminis increati, in quo continentur rationis aeternae. Unde Ps. iv. 6 dicitur, "Multi dicunt: quis ostendit nobis bona?" Cui questioni Psalmista respondet, dicens: "signaturem est super nos lumen vultus tui, Domine :" quasi dicat, per ipsam sigillationem Divini luminis in nobis omnia demonstrantur (S. P. i. q. 84, a. 5). "Vindex" gives the words put in italics as S. Thomas's teaching. They contain the *difficulty* he is explaining.

* This is the well-known passage of S. Augustine: "Si ambo videremus, verum esse quod dicas et ambo videremus esse quod dico; ubi quæso id videremus? ne ego utique in te, nec tu in me; sed ambo in ipsa, quæ supra mentes nostras est, incommutabili veritate." (Conf. i. 12, c. 25.)

S. Thomas explains it: "Quamvis diversa a diversis cognoscantur et credantur vera, tamen quedam sunt vera, in quibus omnes homines concordant, sicut sunt prima principia intellectus tam speculativi quam practici, secundum quod universaliter in mentibus hominum divinae veritatis quasi quadam imago resultat. In quantum ergo, qualibet mens, quidquid per certitudinem cognoscit, in his principiis intuetur, secundum quæ de omnibus judicatur, facta resolutione ipsa, dicitur omnia in divina veritate vel in rationibus aeternis videre, et secundum has de omnibus judicare." (Cont. Gent. l. 3, 47.)

† Numquid quia philosophi documentis certissimis persuadent, aeternis rationibus omnia temporalia fieri; propterea potuerunt in ipsis rationibus perspicere vel ex ipsis colligere, quot sint animalium genera, quæ semina singulorum? Nonne ista omnia per locorum ac temporum historiam quæsierunt? (De Trim. l. 4, c. 16.) See also Kleulgen, p. 836; Liberatore della conoscenza intellettuale, p. 142; S. Aug. Serm. 126; De Verb. Evangel. c. 2, n. 3; De Civit. Dei. l. 22, c. 29, n. 6; De Ordine, l. 1, c. 18, n. 47.

‡ Rationalis anima non omnis et quæcunque, sed quæ sancta et pura fuerit, asseritur illi visioni (scilicet rationum aeternarum) esse idonea. (Lib. qq. 83, q. 66.)

Now, what is meant when S. Thomas says that our reason *partakes* of the divine light ? This expression (*participare μετέχειν*) is frequently made use of, not only by the scholastics, but by the Fathers and by the Greeks, and is used to express the difference there is between the created being and the Creator. The creature is what it is by participation of that which God is through Himself, or through His own essence. Of course it is taken for granted the question has exclusively to do with what we find to be good and perfect in creatures. When the *being* of a creature is called *esse participatum*, it means to say that the creature is not its own origin, but that it *received* its being from God, while, on the contrary, God receives His being from no other. He exists through Himself—*ipsum esse subsistens est*. For this reason He is the very being, since it belongs to His essence to be, and His not being is altogether impossible and unthinkable. He is also called *ens per essentiam*, and the creature *ens per participationem*.* Just as what has fire but is not fire, by participation is fiery ; so, also, what has being, but is not Being, is only being through participation.† What is predicated of being is also predicated of all those perfections which are thought of as infinite. God is what He is through Himself, and, consequently, according to His essence, He is not only being, but very life, reason, love, &c. The creature, whatever of these perfections it possesses, has received them from God. Since God is eminently reason, wisdom, power, and the rest, so must He be *pure* reason, wisdom, power, &c., whilst in creatures such perfections only exist as powers or properties which spring from the essence or are acquired. Hence the creature is not, according to its whole being, reasonable, wise, powerful, and the rest. And so it is easily seen that the other attributes which distinguish God and man are accompanied by the respective terms of *ens per essentiam*, and *ens per participationem*. Creatures are what they are by participation of what God is according to His essence. So by the expressions *esse*, *vivere*, *intelligere* *participatum* is not only meant, that we receive our being, life, knowledge from God, but that we have part in the good which God is, and therefore have some *likeness* unto God. So by this expression God is spoken of not only as the active or creative, but as the archetypal cause of the created essence.‡ It is an old and undoubted maxim that no cause can produce an effect which it does not contain either after the likeness of the effect, or in a more perfect manner. Just as God through His power could not give being to creatures if He had not being Himself ; so He could not bring forth any living or rational creature were He not living and rational Himself. From this it can be seen why S. Thomas above calls not alone God, but the divine ideas, the foundation of our knowledge, and the intellectual light in us a par-

* Deus est *ens per essentiam suam*, quia est *ipsum esse*, omne autem aliud *ens* est *ens per participationem* ; quia *ens*, quod sit *suum esse*, non potest *esse nisi unum*. (Cont. Gent. 1, 2, c. 15).

† *Sicut illud, quod habet ignem et non est ignis, est ignitum per participationem* ; *ita illud quod habet esse, et non est esse, est ens per participationem*. Deus autem est *sua essentia*. (Summa, p. 1, q. 3, a. 4).

‡ *Participatio ideæ fit per aliquem similitudinem ipsius ideæ in participante ipsam*, per modum quo exemplar participatur ab exemplato. (Summa, p. 1, a. 84, a. 4).

ticipata similitudo of the uncreated light. What God creates He creates by the power of His will after the likeness of His essence,—the highest ideal of all being, truth, and goodness. Just as He, as absolute Being (*ens per essentiam*), bestows being on all things that they may exist, so as absolute life, He bestows life on living things that they may live, and as absolute reason, reason on rational beings that they may know. This influence of the divine essence by reason of which what God's power operates, resembles God, the scholastics expressed by the term *imprimere*, and refer to what has been noticed before in the expression of Scripture, that God has sealed us with the light of His countenance—namely, that of all other creatures He has, through the reason He has given us, made us to the image of His own essence.

Si homo participaret lumen intelligibile ab angelo, sequeretur, quod homo secundum mentem non esset ad imaginem ipsius Dei, sed ad imaginem angelorum, contra id quod dicitur, Gen. i., "Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram," i.e. ad communem Trinitatis imaginem, non ad imaginem angelorum: unde dicimus, quod lumen intellectus agentis, de quo Aristoteles loquitur, est nobis immediate impressum a Deo, et secundum quod discernimus verum a falso et bonum a malo. (De Spirit. Creat. a. 10.) Augustinus possuit rationes rerum in mente divina, et quod per eas secundum intellectum illustratum a luce divina de omnibus judicamus, non quidem sic quod ipsas rationes videamus; hoc enim esset impossibile, nisi ipsam Dei essentiam videremus; sed secundum illae aeternae rationes imprimunt in mentes nostras.—Ibid. ad. 8.

It is evident how far the general teaching of philosophy in the Church is removed from that system in which "modern ontologists agree." S. Austin's mind can be read in the following extracts and summary from Dr. Schütz. I beg particular attention to the summary:—

Viderunt etiam ipsi (se hujus seculi philosophi) quantum ab homine fieri potest, creatorem per creaturam, factorem per facturam, fabricatorem mundi per mundum (Sermo 141, de verbo Domini; cf. de symb. sermo ad catech. c. 2, n. 2).

According to S. Augustine (see Schütz, p. 15), In solâ animâ similitudo Dei perfecta vel "similitudo per modum imaginis" repetenda est: in creatures "similitudo per modum vestigii" (compare S. Thomas S. 1, q. 93, a. 6, Stöckl: Die speculative Lehre vom menchen und ihre Geschichte. Wurzburg, 1852, pers. 2, p. 363).

"Nec corporis oculis nec mentis adspectu nunc videmus Deum." (Epist. 147, ad Paul c. 1, n. 3.)

"Deum nemo videbit umquam, quia eam, quæ in Deo habitat, plenitudinem divinitatis nemo conspexit, nemo mente aut oculis comprehendit" (Epist. ibid. c. 25; cf. de Gen. 1, 12, c. 31, n. 59).

Deus naturâ invisibilis est (Ibid.) "Visus enim ad utrumque referendum est, et ad oculos et ad mentem (see c. 9, n. 21, Merton p. 10). Deum . . . mentis tamen obtutu non in hac jam vita attingi posse; a spiritu mortali nondum facie ad faciem videri, sed tantum per speculum in ænigmate; illum vero modum, quo directe et immediate oculus mentis nostram liceat in ipsam claritatem Dei concicere ac majestatem summum nobis in resurrectione præmissum esse" (Schütz on S. Aug. p. 29, 30. See De div. qu.

83, qu. 46, n. 2. De lib. art. I., 2 c. 16, n. 42. Cf. de Civ. Dei, t. 10, c. 9, n. 22).

"Ubinam sunt istae regulæ scriptæ, ubi, quod sit justum, et injustus agnoscit, nisi in libro lucis illius, qua veritas dicitur, unde omnis lex justa describitur et in eos luminis, qui operatur justitiam, non migrando, sed tanquam in primendo transfertur, *sicut imago ex anulo et in ceram transit anulum non relinqui*" (De Trinit. l. 14, c. 15, cf. in Ps. 4, n. 8).

Est nobis *impressa* notio ipsius boni, secundum quod et probamus aliquid et aliud alii *praeponimus* (De Trinit. l. 8, c. 3) mentibus nostris *impressa* est notio beatitudinis (De lib. art. 1, 2, c. 9, n. 26). Priusquam sapientes simus, sapientiae notionem in mente habemus impressam (Ibid.).

The teaching of S. Augustine can be summed up in these pregnant words of Schütz (p. 60) :—

"Modum ipsum vero, quo quidem "intelligibile in potentia," omnibus iis, quæ ad materiam pertinent, remotis, separatis percipiatur, et quo generatio fiat in intellectu, Augustinus accuratius non explanavit . . . miro enim modo, quem idem certis quidem terminis non circumscripsit, mens nostra, quam per impressionem luminis intellectualis Deus ad sui intellectus creavit similitudinem "quasi ex caveis abditiорibus naturæ sua intellectualis," sibi jam inde "ab ipso exordio humanae generationis," "sparsæ et neglectæ latitabant, "eruit," elicuisse, "ideas principales seu rationes rerum stabiles." Quas simul ac "pariundur," directe et immediate conspicit sicut proprie dicendum est in semet ipsa, in Deo vero non aliter nisi tanquam in principio cognitionis remoto. Atque secundum nos "quas communiter cernunt omnes, interiores regulas veritatis mens de omnibus rebus judicat," et "exinde conceptam rerum veracem notitiam tanquam verbum apud se habet et dicendo intus gignit." Ad eam denique causam, quam existere, quæ sunt sensus cum externi tum potissimum intimi objecta, manifeste sane indicant, inveniendam velut a duplice portu egressa ens supremum et absolutum, summum bonum ac sumnum pulchrum invenit, ipsum Deum; ita tamen ut non directe et immediate, sed non videat illum nisi in creaturis velut in ejus imagine."

I have, in conclusion, but two remarks to make. 1. "Vindex" says that Herr Schütz maintains "the existence of a faculty of intuition" of *absolute ideas*. 2. "Vindex" says that Herr Schütz has not *taken proper pains to understand ontologism*." I can agree with neither of these statements. I have read Dr. Schütz through several times most carefully, and I can find no doctrine of absolute ideas being the objects of immediate intuition; and I have been excessively struck by the evident (to me) pains that Dr. Schütz has taken to understand ontologism.* The second statement casts a slur, not only on Dr. Schütz, but upon those who conferred upon him the grade of Doctor in Philosophy for his learned brochure. Still, I believe in the fairness and love of justice of "Vindex," and shall look forward with interest for the reasons which he thinks justified him in publishing such a statement.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

THE WRITER OF "KLEUTGEN versus VINDEX."

* Whether he has *succeeded* in understanding it, of course, is quite another question. Thirteen years acquaintance with, and study of, that system makes me agree with the DUBLIN REVIEW, that he *has succeeded in understanding it*.

LETTER ON CHURCH MUSIC.

To the Editor of the DUBLIN REVIEW.

DEAR SIR,—I have to thank you for two very kind notices of my pamphlets on "Church Choirs and Church Music;" the one in your January, the other in your April number. The first appeared when my second pamphlet was under correction for the press, and I was able to express briefly my sense of its value, in terms which were qualified only by the fear that I might be open to misconstruction in praising what was so complimentary to myself. The second of these notices, which appears in your current number, although not directly on the subject of my pamphlets, demands my acknowledgements for another reason. The writer considers that the views of the Rev. James Nary are less opposed to mine than might be thought from the circumstance of his work being avowedly intended in reply to me. This remark I regard as doubly valuable; partly because it proves that the author of it had studied our respective pamphlets with great care, and partly because it tends to exhibit Mr. Nary's essay and my own, as joint contributions towards a common object, rather than as exponents of two antagonist theories. I have for some time been anxious to bring out the same hopeful view of the case by a somewhat detailed examination of Mr. Nary's argument, but have been deterred from the attempt, as well by the expense of independent publication, as by an unwillingness to prolong a discussion which some persons, unlike Mr. Nary, think I had better not have raised. The permission I have received from you to throw my desired remarks into the form of a letter to yourself removes the former difficulty and greatly lessens the latter.

Mr. Nary has supplied me with a convenient starting-point for my remarks, in the summary he has given of the views in my pamphlets from which he dissents, and of the grounds of his dissent.

"In his pamphlet, or in the postscript to it, Canon Oakeley advances—that plain chant and figured music are 'the two great styles of Church music;' that 'Plain Chant, on the one hand, and what is called music, on the other, represent different ideas, the one of which is not at all more religious than the other;' that the 'leading idea' of plain chant is that it is content 'with merely providing a vehicle for the utterance' of words; that 'there is a certain sentiment which religious worship is intended both to evoke and satisfy, and to which plain chant is decidedly unequal—the sentiment . . . of Christian joy;' that figured music represents 'a devotional idea quite beyond the reach of Plain Chant;' that in restricting ourselves exclusively to plain chant, we become guilty of a 'Protestant view of divine worship, which excludes from it every idea but that of heavy and somewhat mournful solemnity;' that if we do not confine ourselves to Plain Chant, 'there is no principle on which we can exclude any concerted and elaborate music, except, indeed, some of the lightest compositions of the Italian school,' though, as the writer may here observe, one cannot easily

understand how, in the absence of all principle, even those ‘lighter compositions’ are excluded ; for, if taste is once introduced, it may assert itself as a principle which will exclude many compositions besides the lightest of the Italian school ; that ‘Pope Benedict XIV. . . . gives the support of his high personal and official authority to the Catholic view of ecclesiastical music which Canon Oakeley advocates ;’ that ‘the organ . . . is an injury to plain chant ;’ that the use of an orchestra is justified ‘on religious grounds ;’ that ‘orchestral accompaniments . . . have ecclesiastical authority in their favour.’

“To these convictions entertained by Canon Oakeley, the writer wishes, with all due respect, to oppose his belief that the Church has only one style of music properly her own ; that Canon Oakeley underrates the power of plain chant ; that the organ is not an injury to plain chant ; that the Church does not favour either figured music or orchestral accompaniments, though both are perfectly lawful ; that Pope Benedict XIV. does not support them, either with his high personal, or with his official character.” (“Our Church Music,” pp. 7, 8, 9.)

Now I begin by observing generally, that my rev. brother gives a somewhat undue prominence to the latter portion of the “few words,” which was intended, and has been generally understood, to be quite secondary and subordinate to the former and principal portion. The main purpose of my pamphlet, as shown in the postscript to it, was to remove objections known to be felt by many of the clergy against the use of exclusively male choirs, by offering to their consideration suggestions founded on long experience, and tending to show that such a practice is as feasible as it is ecclesiastical and Catholic. This portion of my pamphlet was meant to be practical and suggestive. Its object is briefly but pointedly stated in a decree of the First Provincial Synod of Westminster—“Pueri in scholis musicen edoceantur, ut feminarum, maxime conductarum, voces e choro excludantur.” In the sequel, I merely sought to propose a view which seemed to me to mediate between two theories of Church music, often advocated in an exclusive, not to say uncharitable spirit, without the compromise of any of those religious or ecclesiastical principles which are apt to be claimed for one of these theories as against the other. I had no thought whatever of urging upon my rev. brethren the use of one of these styles in preference to the other ; but if my remarks bore in either direction it was certainly rather more in that of the Plain Chant than of figured music. Mr. Nary, however, objects strongly to the theory itself, and implies, though in the most courteous language, that it is got up to meet the facts of the case. I can assure him that it rests, as I believe, on a better foundation. I do not ground it merely on the fact that a certain style of music extensively prevails, and must therefore be defended, but on a conviction arising partly out of my own personal experience, and partly from observation of the phenomena around me, that there are persons of the most unquestionably religious character who find in the style of Church music to which Mr. Nary objects, a pure and most rational pleasure eminently ministerial to devotion, and who, were the music of the Church to be limited to plain chant, would suffer a very real and by no means insignificant privation.

The particular analysis of this pleasure I attempt to frame by investigating what are the sources of it in myself; and, so far as I can judge, I believe it to proceed from the cause I have specified; namely, that there are certain emotions which the modern appliances of music have a tendency to satisfy, in a manner and to an extent to which the older chant, with all its inimitable excellence, is inadequate. It is perfectly true, as Mr. Nary reminds me, that I have grown into this view since I was first a Catholic, and that, in an article written upwards of twenty years ago, I spoke, not certainly with greater admiration of Plain Chant than in my recent pamphlet, but in a depreciatory tone of the music which I am now disposed to place by its side as the representative of what I call a different, and not less religious idea. But when it is considered that I wrote that article in the earlier years of my Catholic life, when I was at a college where little or no Church music besides the Plain Chant was admitted, and when I had not yet been disabused of my Protestant prejudices against all Church music but that of the severest character, it will not perhaps be felt that my change of opinion on the subject of ornate music and concerted accompaniments is so great a proof of inconsistency, as my adherence to the view then expressed on the characteristic excellence of Plain Chant is a proof that I have not abandoned my principles on the subject, though I have materially modified their application.

Mr. Nary, though I am sure most undesignedly, has done great injustice to my pamphlet, or at least to my intentions, when he supposes me to lower plain chant to the level of mere recitative. When I speak, both in my article twenty years ago and in my recent pamphlet, of its appearing to me to "retreat" before the words of which it is the vehicle, I mean, so far from disparaging it, to attribute to it a special and very high order of excellence. I certainly think that a religious idea is realised in the treatment of some subject contained in those words, by bringing to bear upon them the powers of musical art. But I think also, that another and most exalted religious idea is represented in the enunciation and, if I may use the term, protrusion of the sacred text by means of a vehicle at once simple, solemn, and (as I have been mistakenly supposed to deny) melodious. These two ideas, which may be called the subjective and objective treatment of the words, are illustrated respectively in the *Sanctus* of the *Missa de Angelis* and in the *Sanctus* of Cherubini's beautiful Mass in G, or in the *Agnus Dei* of the Dead Mass, and that of Mozart's first Mass, which, with the greatest respect for Mr. Nary's opinion, I must still consider a beautiful piece of religious composition. However, if I am denied the *Agnus Dei*, I will fall back on the *Benedictus* of the Requiem.

With regard to the expressive powers of Plain Chant, I candidly admit that Mr. Nary has convicted me of injustice, although I never intended my enumeration of the specimens I so much prize to be exhaustive, or even ample. But I know not how I happened to omit the record of such treasures as the *Te Deum*, or the *Regina celi*, or how I could have said, consistently with my habitual and often expressed admiration of those treasures, that plain chant is unequal to the expression of a certain kind of religious joy.

But there are two kinds of religious joy, as I conceive of it ; the one solemn and majestic, the other bright and exuberant. It is the latter kind of joy, as it seems to me, which is meant to be represented by a *Gloria in excelsis*, especially in Masses like the Midnight Mass of Christmas, or that of Holy Saturday, when the *Gloria* carries with it a peculiar meaning, and when its spirit is intensified by some sentiment of surprise, or heightened by some effective contrast. A Plain Chant *Gloria* on either of those occasions would strike upon my own religious feelings with a certain sense of shock, and damp them with the cruel chill of a wet blanket. Indeed I think that it was upon its *Glorias* especially that I founded my too severe judgment of Plain Chant in its relation to the sentiment of Christian joy. I certainly think them failures of their kind. I own, likewise, to a personal weakness in favour of a brilliant *Credo*, especially after a dull sermon, though I cannot deny that the music of grand recitation is well adapted to a profession of faith. But is it not too great a demand upon the ecclesiastical spirit of our people in general to expect that they will patiently bear with the repetition of the same Masses Sunday after Sunday, or, at least, with so little variation as the Plain Chant admits ?

But if it be true, as our good friend Mr. Nary considers, that the Church has enthroned the Plain Chant in the Sanctuary to the exclusion of all pretenders, there is, no doubt, an end to the question. Can it, however, be said, that this proposition is true in any other sense than that the Church has prescribed this chant as the exclusive medium for the intonation of her prayers, Prefaces, and such other portions of her Liturgy and Offices as are recited in her more solemn celebrations by the officient ? With regard to the choral portions of the same Liturgy and Offices, a certain latitude is not only allowed, but sanctioned by the highest ecclesiastical authorities. When the Pope celebrates High Mass in the metropolitan church of Christendom, the aforesaid portions of the Liturgy are sung in the proper ecclesiastical tones, but the *Gloria* and *Credo*, after having been intoned as the rubric prescribes, are taken up and continued in figured music. Figured music, again, is used in the Papal choir, to give effect to the Lamentations, and even the *Miserere* in Holy Week, although the rubric itself seems to imply that the latter should not be sung at all, but said in an under tone. So hard is it to plead this theory against precedent and practice. I know it will be said, that the music of the Papal choir is of a certain character, and that Mr. Nary is speaking about music of another character. But this brings me to a point on which I ventured to lay stress in my pamphlet. I said, and still say, that the moment you quit the ground of strict plain chant for any figured music, however grave, you introduce a new principle, and all then becomes a mere question of taste and degree. Mr. Nary urges, that if I admit Beethoven, for instance, I am bound by my admission to allow the introduction into our churches of the lightest music of the Italian school. But I think I may retort that if he make an exception in favour of the Masses of Palestrina, he will have no better reason for excluding those of Cherubini or Beethoven than that for which I would exclude the lighter Italian compositions ; namely, that he does not like them. The line which separates the

least severe specimen of the Roman school from the most severe of the German (such, for instance, as portions of Mozart's *Requiem*) is surely one which, unlike that which separates the Plain Chant from all figured music, implies a difference in style rather than in principle, and appears to me to be so far similar in its nature to that which separates the Masses of Mozart or Cherubini from those of the lighter Italian school.* It is the old question between abstinence and temperance. When the line is once passed, we exchange a fixed and positive for a relative and variable standard which does not admit of being subjected to any test but that of individual feeling and discretion. Hence, if I were a thorough-going Plain Chantist, I should be a "total abstainer." Yet how can I maintain a principle which is practically contradicted by the Church? I think that Mr. Nary is less clear on this part of the subject than on others. If he invest Plain Chant with some peculiar authority which he denies to all other music, I want to know in what category he would place the figured music which prevails in the various churches at Rome, and even in S. Peter's itself, under the immediate or implied sanction of the Holy Father. For even at S. Peter's I have heard the Vespers sung on a great festival to concerted music of the most brilliant description; yet if Plain Chant should anywhere assert its prerogative, one would think it would be in the psalmody of the Divine Office. If from S. Peter's we pass to other churches of the Roman Vicariate, I imagine that we shall find both light music and instrumental accompaniments, which, if the ecclesiastical authorities do not openly sanction, they certainly feel it wise to tolerate.

But the claim of figured music, in the abstract sense of that term, to an authority co-ordinate with that of the Plain Chant, does not rest simply on the practice of the Church at head-quarters, as well as in every part of her world-wide empire. This claim has been placed on record, once for all, by the formal decision of the Church at the period of the inauguration of her modern life. At the time of the Council of Trent, the Church had the opportunity of appropriating, in some especial and exclusive manner, the ancient chant as her sole standard in the musical department of worship. As Mr. Nary somewhere reminds us, she was on the point of doing so, but, on second thoughts, she decided the question in the negative, and took figured music under her wing as an accessory to that chant which will always remain, in a certain sense, her own, since, unlike that accessory, it has never had its place in the world. Hence it is that Pope Benedict XIV., in words which merit special attention in this controversy, goes so far as to brand by the term "novelty," the proposal of those bishops who were for banishing figured music in favour of the Plain Chant. The passage will be found in page 27 of my "Few Words," but it is so very pertinent to the question at issue that I cannot forbear from giving it *in extenso*.

* That this latter is a real distinction is proved by the fact that Italians dislike the music of the German school, not because it is light, but because they consider it heavy.

"A quibusdam episcopis, ecclesiasticae disciplinae studiosis, propositum fuerat, ut cantus musicus ab ecclesiis omnino tolleretur, nec nisi Gregorianus canendi modus in ipsis retineretur; cum alii recte animadvertisserint per hujus modi novitatem innumeris querelis atque perturbationibus aditum apertum iri, hoc denique consilium captum fuit, non ut musici cantus in ecclesiis prohiberentur, sed ut certis propositis regulis ad pietatis et gravitatis normani reformarentur."—De Syn. Dicec. lib. xi. c. 8.

The citations which my rev. brother has made from Papal mandates, and other documents of the highest authority, in support of the ecclesiastical chant, or in protest against abuses in Church music, must surely be interpreted with a reserve in favour of these precedents and sanctions. It is undeniable that the study of the Plain Chant is made incumbent upon students for the Priesthood, and a necessary part, therefore, of education in seminaries. The reason of this provision is obvious, and a reason it is which does not apply to other music, so that we cannot wonder that, at a period when time is so valuable, the rectors of seminaries should be required to promote the study of the ecclesiastical chant to the exclusion of other kinds of music. Neither, of course, have I anything to say in excuse whether for a secular style of music, or for those theatrical modes of executing it which the Church has so repeatedly denounced. But I must ever think that the employment of females in the musical service of the Church is a very primary cause of both these abuses. In the first place, it tends to encourage the use of such music as the female voice alone can represent with the highest effect; and, in the second, it diffuses over the choir a certain air of secularity which, in my opinion, is far more injurious to the religious spirit than any music can possibly be which is within the powers of the puerile voice. If these questions are to be decided by authority and precedent, I will venture to affirm that, on no subject connected with the choir, is the Church, as interpreted by her most approved practice as well as by authoritative decisions, more explicit than against the official employment of females.* It was to this abuse, therefore, that my "Few Words" were principally directed; and, in so directing them, I had certainly an eye to the more extensive introduction of the Plain Chant, while, at the same time, I did not, and do not, see that such a reform need carry with it the abolition of other music. Mr. Nary appears to think that I would stipulate for male choirs singing in an ecclesiastical dress near the sanctuary. Certainly if they sing near the sanctuary they must, according to the rule of the Church, sing in an ecclesiastical dress, even though they be laics.† Certainly also I consider this arrangement all but necessary for the due celebration of Offices which involve antiphonal singing.‡ But I think it far more necessary to have male choirs than that they should sing in this

* Of course I never thought of questioning their right to take part in popular psalmody. Indeed, I have directly maintained that right at page 46 of my Postscript.

† See Dale's "Ceremonial According to the Roman Rite," p. 351.

‡ Hence I think that, in the construction of all new Catholic churches, a provision for a choir near the sanctuary should be made indispensable.

or that part of the church ; and, if instrumental accompaniments be introduced, an organ gallery is no doubt the most natural place for them. I remember, however, that when Archbishop Errington made the episcopal visitation of my church in 1858, his Grace expressed no objection to the instrumentalists being downstairs, near the altar, provided that a screen were placed between them and the people.

And now for one word about instrumental accompaniments. With regard to their permissibility, there seems to be no difference between my rev. brother and myself. He classes them, in point of lawfulness, with "figured music" (p. 9), and I certainly had no thought of claiming for them any higher sanction. Nor, indeed, can there be any reasonable doubt on this question, after the letter of Pope Benedict XIV. to the Italian Bishops, and the more recent allowance of the practice, with certain limitations, by the Cardinal Vicar of Rome. But the use of such accompaniments must obviously be an exceptional arrangement, for this, if for no other reason—that instrumentalists, when hired, are very expensive, and when amateurs, are apt to be very indifferent. The case of my own church, as I stated in my pamphlet, forms an exception to both these rules. But I have no desire to enter into controversy with our author on the question, which he decides in the negative, and I in the affirmative ; the question, namely, whether these accompaniments, when properly ordered, contribute to the majesty and beauty of our celebrations. This question is, of course, intimately connected with that of the style of music we may adopt. As I am disposed to give a place to the more ornate, as well as to the more simple, I am naturally attracted towards those resources of instrumentation which ornate music usually pre-supposes, and which serve to heighten its effect. Here I will add that my rev. brother has made a vast deal too much of a mere casual observation in my pamphlet on the use of the organ as an accompaniment to the music of Palestrina, and to the Plain Chant. I said that it is ruinous to the first, and injurious to the second. In the former of these opinions I take it for granted that we are all agreed. The latter I am quite ready to retract in deference to the judgment of so excellent an authority. Certainly no one can appreciate more highly than myself the beauty of the Rev. William Dolan's organ accompaniment to the Dead Mass and to the Plain Chant in general. I suppose when I wrote the passage in question that my mind was running upon the Tenebre Office as I remember it at S. Edmund's College, and as I have often heard it in my own church. On these occasions, the organ accompaniment, had it been even permitted, would certainly have been an injury to the effect.

My rev. brother has dwelt at some length on the subject of popular singing in Divine worship. This interesting question did not fall within the scope of my pamphlets, and one at least of my kind critics has here credited my suggestions with tendencies which, however fairly their consequence, were not certainly present to my mind when I offered them. Whatever helps to rid our choirs of the purely professional element, helps, at the same time, to break down the barrier which separates them from the rest of the people. "*Artistes*," as they are called, especially female "*artistes*," whatever their sup-

posed attractions, certainly exercise a strangely withering influence on the humbler members of the musical fraternity. The choral staff itself, as I can testify from experience, receives many valuable additions from the floating body of amateurs which pervades our large towns, where unpretending boys occupy the place of formidable ladies. Whatever tends to strengthen the staff of the leaders, tends also to increase the confidence of the followers. The spirit of song is contagious, and thus it is undeniably true that the arrangements I have ventured to advocate do actually bear, indirectly, upon what is called "congregational" singing. At the same time, I should not be candid did I not avow my impression that the Mass itself is not the proper department of popular vocalism. I delight in the many-voiced responses to the Litanies ; I prefer (as a rule) to all others, those Benediction hymns in which all the people can join, and am quite prepared to believe that the Plain Chant *Te Deum*, sung by a multitude of enthusiastic worshippers, would be a religious treat of a very high order. But I am not disposed, as at present minded, to acquiesce in the view that the choral portions of the Mass are intended to be sung by the people. I think that the Mass is most properly regarded as an act in which the people are to share, in the way of attention and meditation rather than of direct and personal participation, and hence it is that I am favourable to such music as aids those mental operations, though I am as far as possible from denying that the Plain Chant, properly executed, may be such. Moreover, I am not prepossessed in favour of the practice by my own experience. Perhaps I have been unfortunate in the instances which have come before me, but I must say that they have not converted me to it. I once heard a Plain Chant Mass thus executed in France, and a real execution it was, as far as the music was concerned. The Plain Chant undoubtedly requires, for its due effect, a great number of voices ; but I humbly conceive that they should be the voices of select persons who have also got ears, not of a multitude of excellent people, some screaming, others grunting, others mispronouncing the Latin, others singing out of time, others out of tune, and the whole together resulting in a concert, but certainly not of sweet sounds. If a certain number of persons in the body of the worshippers could be trained to join in with the choir, the effect would, no doubt, be excellent and most impressive ; but if once we give out that the music of the Mass is meant to be what is called "congregational," we shall run the risk of having the music marred by unmusical intruders, or of incurring those far worse consequences in the way of dissatisfaction and jealousy, which it is one of the objects of popular singing to prevent. The same difficulties, though in a less degree, seem to me to stand in the way of popularizing the Vesper Office.

I have thus touched on the chief points of the able and interesting pamphlet which you have kindly permitted me to review. I trust I have shown, on the whole, that my rev. brother and myself are more in accord on the subject we have undertaken to discuss than I think he is disposed to allow. I am not sure that he appreciates the full extent of my agreement with him in his admiration of the Plain Chant, and I hope that on this subject, at all events I have been able to express myself more clearly in these few

pages than I was led to do in either of my pamphlets. I have no doubt he will find it hard to understand the union in the same person of a real love of two styles of music which he regards as hopelessly opposed to one another. I cannot deny that I believe such a union to be uncommon, but I am sure that in the cases where it exists, the two several tastes which are combined in it are most real, and that they co-exist in nearly the same proportions. If, as I trust, this union involve no compromise of religious principles, no mere sensuous view of music in its religious uses, no hankering after the pleasures of the world, no misconception of the true character of devotional affection, it is undoubtedly, on the other hand, a source of much consolation and a ground of much thankfulness. It not only multiplies our sources of religious pleasure, but withdraws us from an atmosphere of controversy in a matter which, almost more than any other of the minor questions of the day, seems to produce exasperation in the supporters of different theories. If this little passage of arms between my respected antagonist and myself shall issue in no other good effect, it will at any rate have shown to the world that differences of opinion on this delicate and thorny subject may be expressed without reserve, yet without detriment to those feelings of mutual charity and confidence which should ever prevail between priests who have no other object at heart than to advance the glory of God, and the edification of His people in the manner which they conscientiously believe to be the most conducive to those ends.

I am, dear sir,

Your faithful servant,

S. John's, Islington, 6 May, 1868.

FREDERICK OAKELEY.

THE Very Rev. F. Knox, Superior of the London Oratory, has published a letter, of which we subjoin the translation:—

To the Editor of the "Rivue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques."

London, 13th April, 1868.

SIR,—I request that you will have the kindness to correct an inadvertency which has crept into your last number, page 221.

F. Ryder is not a member of the London Oratory, but of that of Birmingham.

The congregations of the Oratory, according to the law of our institution, have a totally separate existence and direction. They have no mutual relations of subordination, not even as regards the Oratory at Rome.

Consequently, each congregation is responsible only for the acts and the writings of its own members.

I think it right to add that F. Ryder's sentiments with regard to the

infallibility of the Church, are very different to those which have always been professed by the Fathers of the London Oratory. As for myself, I considered it my duty to testify, without naming Father Ryder, to what an extent I disapprove of his doctrine on this subject, by publishing a pamphlet, entitled, "*When does the Church speak infallibly?*"

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

F. KNOX,

Superior of the London Oratory.
